OUBLE ISSUE: JULY 18 / 25, 2005

The Nation.

www.thenation.com

$2.95
$3.95 Canada

TORTURE AND
CCOUNTABILITY
lizabeth Holtzman

PLAN B
FOR PLAN B
Ayelish
McGarvey

GLOBAL
WARMING
AND THE G-8
Mark
Hertsgaard

BEYOND
AY MARRIAGE
Lisa Duggan
& Richard Kim

REFLECTIONS
ON
ABU GHRAIB
Amitav Ghosh

RECONNECTING TO THE WORLD

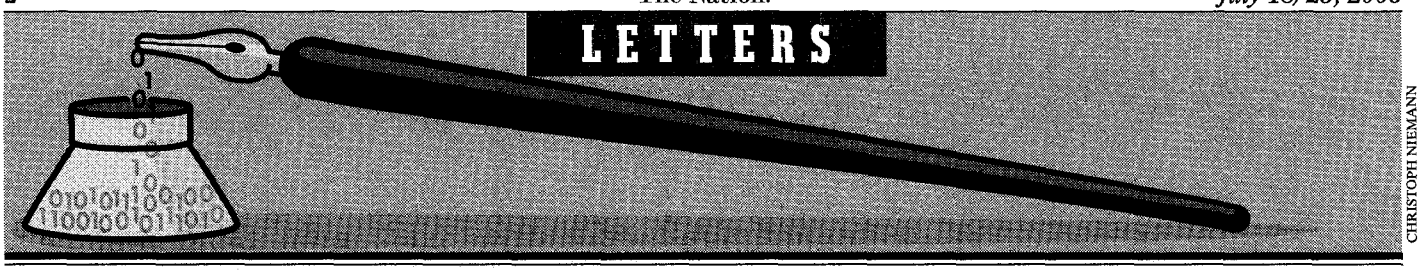
A FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE DEMOCRATS

by SHERLE R. SCHWENNINGER

#BXNKBXM **********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ0555B096 1#302604 TW

FEB 05 07
RON K UNZ USPA
555 BRYANT ST 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704 P0025

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CHRISTOPH NIEMANN

PRIESTS' ENTRAILS & PROFS' FREEDOM

New York City

■ In her excellent June 27 "Subject to Debate" column, Katha Pollitt attributes to Diderot the phrase "Man will never be free until the last king is strangled with the entrails of the last priest." In fact, Diderot lifted this formulation from the atheist French priest Jean Meslier (1664–1729), who preceded Diderot, and whose multivolume memoir's subtitle says it treats "Of the Vanity and Falseness of all the Divinities and All the Religions of the World, to be addressed to my Parishioners After my Death to serve Them as a Testimony to Truth." Meslier's memoir, *Mon Testament*, was rediscovered and posthumously published by Voltaire, who frequently borrowed from Meslier, as did Diderot.

Meslier became very popular not only among the intellectuals of the French Enlightenment but among liberal revolutionaries in czarist Russia—an 1819 quatrain by Pushkin nods to Meslier when it says, "with the entrails of the last Pope, we will strangle the last Czar" (this was one of the poems that got Pushkin sent into administrative exile in South Russia by the czarist police). Marx appreciated and quoted Meslier as well—and when the Bolsheviks came to power, they erected a stele in Red Square dedicated to the "Heroes of Liberty," where Meslier's name appeared next to that of Spartacus. Louisa May Alcott, too, borrowed the Meslier "entrails" quote (citing Voltaire as its author).

Meslier also wrote, "The real original sin of men is to be born in poverty, in misery, in dependence and tyranny of the mighty one. We must do everything to free them from this disgusting and damned sin." Indeed. Part of Meslier's *Testament* is available online, in English, at www.geocities.com/Athens/7842/jbconv15.htm. By the way, I don't blame Katha for the misattribution—many dictionaries of quotations erroneously do so as well, although the Oxford one cites both Meslier and Diderot.

DOUG IRELAND

Washington, DC

■ In her June 27 column, on Brooklyn College professor Timothy Shortell, Katha Pollitt states that our organization's Academic Bill of Rights would "empower state legislatures to mandate 'balance' in the classroom" and claims that we oppose the introduction of controversial material in the classroom. She is wrong on both counts, which can easily be checked by going to our website at www.studentsforacademicfreedom.org.

The term "balance" is nowhere to be found in the Academic Bill of Rights. What the bill actually says is: "Faculty and instructors shall be free to pursue and discuss their own findings and perspectives in presenting their views, but they shall make their students aware of serious scholarly viewpoints other than their own." Does Pollitt have a problem with this?

This past January the American Historical Association supported the identical concept in its revised Statement on Standards of Professional Conduct, declaring: "*Students should be made aware of multiple causes and varying interpretations.* Within the bounds of the historical topic being studied, the free expression of legitimate differences of opinion should always be a goal" (emphasis added).

Pollitt claims that we want to ban "controversial material" from college classrooms. This is both ridiculous and false. Pollitt has omitted the end of the sentence, which refers to "controversial matter that has no relation to the subject." For example, the showing of *Fahrenheit 9/11* in a biology class at Penn State on the eve of the last election. Pollitt may object to this restriction, but it is a principle of academic freedom endorsed for the past sixty-five years by the American Association of University Professors.

SARA DOGAN
National campus director
Students for Academic Freedom

POLLITT REPLIES

New York City

■ Who disagrees that students should be exposed to multiple points of view in the course of their education? This is not going to happen in each individual class, however, because professors, whether liberal or conservative, design courses around their own scholarly interests and perspectives. Professors are not simply conduits for assorted position papers by other people. How much time would you expect Gary Becker, renowned rational-choice economist, to spend presenting the objections of Marx, Freud, Simone de Beauvoir and John Paul II? If you study modern poetry with Helen Vendler, you get lots of Wallace Stevens, not so much Charles Olson. Inviting state legislatures to get involved in course content is a huge mistake. It simply invites rule by tabloids and talk shows—the tactic apparently favored by Students for Academic Freedom.

SAF would do much better to push government to fund public universities generously. The real problem with higher education is degraded conditions of teaching and learning. I am much more worried about students being stuck in huge lecture classes with multiple-choice exams, or being taught by harried adjuncts with no secure relationship to the school, or having to take out big loans and so many part-time jobs they can't focus on school, than I am about their having to endure their professors' political perspectives, whatever they happen to be. I had many conservative professors in college (or at least so they seemed to me). I survived.

I did not say that SAF wants "to ban controversial material from college classrooms." I reported that their website lists "introduced controversial material" as a category of professorial abuse, along with "mocked political/religious figures" and "biased grading." While I agree that *Fahrenheit 9/11* does not belong in bio class, I really doubt this is a widespread phenomenon deserving of national notice. I read through the entire list of complaints on SAF's website, and most of them struck me as trivial, dubious or open to other interpretations. The students who post seem to expect their professors to behave like computers, spewing out information with never a flash of personality. Heaven forbid a professor should actually disagree with a student! Or venture an aside about current events!

As for biased grading, maybe their profs took off points for spelling and grammar.

KATHA POLLITT

MOVE OVER, JAMES JOYCE

Troy, Mich.

■ Congratulations to Stuart Klawans for his one-sentence review of "Cinderella Man" ["Films," July 4]. And what a sentence! Four hundred and thirty-two words of bliss and sheer agony having to reread said sentence over and over to decipher its true meaning.

ALLEN SALYER

AMERICANS IN WONDERLAND

Ellicott City, Md.

■ Jonathan Schell's July 4 "Letter From Ground Zero" made me feel like I'm living in the Twilight Zone or fell down a rabbit hole. The irony that the US Army in Iraq is training the future resistance to itself is typical of the rest of our current situation. We have a President who told outrageous lies to drag us into an unnecessary and seemingly endless war that is decimating our Treasury and maiming and killing our young men and women in uniform, yet he swaggers, leers and preens during his rare press conferences like a cowboy hero. We move ever further from our stated foreign policy goals, while the world becomes ever more dangerous and antagonistic toward us, yet we're told we're spreading democracy throughout the world and winning the "war on terror."

The incompetence of our bloated intelligence and law enforcement bureaucracies

(Continued on Page 30)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRINTED JUNE 28

IN THIS ISSUE

VOLUME 281, NUMBER 3

2 **LETTERS**

EDITORIALS & COMMENT

3 GIVING AFRICA A HAND

4 CLIMATE AND THE G-8
Mark Hertsgaard

8 PLAN B FOR PLAN B
Ayelish McGarvey

10 COMIX NATION
Support Our Truth
Jules Feiffer

COLUMNS

11 DIARY OF A MAD LAW PROFESSOR
Extrajudicial Activism
Patricia J. Williams

12 THE LIBERAL MEDIA
Lying Liars & the Presidents Who Employ Them
Eric Alterman

ARTICLES

13 RECONNECTING TO THE WORLD
A foreign policy for Democrats.
Sherle R. Schwenninger

20 TORTURE AND ACCOUNTABILITY
How higher-ups can be held responsible.
Elizabeth Holtzman

24 BEYOND GAY MARRIAGE
Countering the right's broader agenda.
Lisa Duggan & Richard Kim

27 AVIAN FLU: A STATE OF UNREADINESS
HHS fiddled while the danger rose.
Mike Davis

BOOKS & THE ARTS

31 THE THEATER OF CRUELTY
Reflections on the anniversary of Abu Ghraib
Amitav Ghosh

32 KIRSCH: The Wounded Surgeon: Confession and Transformation in Six American Poets
John Palattella

36 NOVALIS: The Novices of Sais
Ross Benjamin

40 To the Margin (poem)
To Being Late (poem)
To the Wires Overhead (poem)
W.S. Merwin

42 FILMS
The Beat That My Heart Skipped
The World
Tropical Malady
Me and You and Everyone We Know
Stuart Klawans

Cover by Gene Case & Stephen Kling/ Avenging Angels; illustrations by Christoph Niemann and Karen Caldicott

EDITORIALS

Giving Africa a Hand

Leaders of the G-8 countries spent the better part of June clapping one another on the back for writing off the debts of eighteen impoverished nations, fourteen of them in Africa. "The most comprehensive statement that finance ministers have ever made on the issues of debt, development, health and poverty," British Chancellor Gordon Brown called it. Brown is right, but while the $40 billion write-off is an impressive victory for debt-relief campaigners, it also highlights how much remains to be done. The G-8 plan affects less than two dozen of 100 nations that, according to the United Nations, need total debt forgiveness in order to meet the UN Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty and disease by 2015. Africa's debt stood at $295 billion in a recent UN accounting—after the continent had made repayments of $550 billion, including interest, on $540 billion in loans it had received over the previous three decades.

Getting to the new agreement on debt relief wasn't easy: It took two decades of strategic campaigns, beginning with small NGOs and citizen groups, then leading to the involvement of such celebrities as Pope John Paul II and Bono, and culminating in the Jubilee debt-forgiveness campaign, initiated by religious communities in the 1990s to shift the debt debate. Even so, the G-8 plan requires nations to agree to privatization and deregulation schemes that are guaranteed to please preachers of the neoliberal development gospel but to dismay supporters of African sovereignty and human-based development. Moreover, the emphasis on the need to fight corruption to qualify for relief, expressed by the World Bank's new leader, former Bush Administration official Paul Wolfowitz, could be used as an excuse for doing nothing beyond what's already been agreed to. As Columbia professor Jeffrey Sachs noted recently, a number of desperately poor African countries, including Ghana, Senegal and Malawi, are ranked as less corrupt than fast-growing countries in Asia. Clearly, African development requires more than ousting greedy officials.

That "more" goes to the question of how to vault Africa, with its nearly 300 million people and vast natural resources, onto a path of sustainable economic growth. For the African countries that will benefit from G-8 relief, the funds that will become available for spending at home, instead of paying debt service, amount to a little more than $1 billion a year. This compares with the roughly $3 billion it would cost to underwrite plans for free schooling already approved by international lenders and donors. What is needed is money—lots of it. But although incoming G-8 chairman Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain has made fighting poverty in Africa a top priority of his tenure, Washington has flatly refused to join Europe in pledging to double African aid.

Even the importance of more aid pales in comparison with what a fairer trade climate could accomplish. The best way to assist Africa's economic development would be to open up Western markets for agricultural exports by cutting subsidies to US and European farmers, particularly large-scale producers of cotton and sugar. There is great resistance, on both sides of the Atlantic, to cutting subsidies, however, and the G-8 finance ministers' communiqué on debt relief was, as the BBC put it, "suitably vague" on the subject. EU proposals to cut sugar subsidies by 39 percent by 2008, unveiled in June, are only a modest beginning.

The global debt-relief movement deserves thanks for what it has accomplished. Now activists must return to the fight, pushing not only for more debt relief for all impoverished countries but also for other initiatives for Africa. So long viewed by outsiders as an exotic object of fascination or an opportunity for exploitation, Africa must take its rightful place in the world.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

The Nation.

PUBLISHER: Victor Navasky

EDITOR: Katrina vanden Heuvel

MANAGING EDITOR: Karen Rothmyer
LITERARY EDITOR: Adam Shatz
SENIOR EDITORS: Richard Lingeman, Betsy Reed
SENIOR EDITOR/COPY CHIEF: Roane Carey
COPY EDITOR: Judith Long
ASSISTANT COPY EDITOR: Mark Sorkin
COPY ASSOCIATE: Lisa Vandepaer
ASSISTANT TO THE EDITOR: Peggy Suttle
ASSISTANT TO THE LITERARY EDITOR: Christine Smallwood
INTERNS: Leah Monical Caldwell, Natasha Degen, Gabriel Hetland, Adam Howard, Michelle Risley, Bianca Joy Sepulveda, Hilary Swaffield (*Washington*), Ishaan Tharoor, George Zornick

WASHINGTON, DC: EDITOR: David Corn; CORRESPONDENT: John Nichols

NATIONAL AFFAIRS CORRESPONDENT: William Greider

COLUMNISTS: Eric Alterman, Alexander Cockburn, Naomi Klein, Katha Pollitt, Patricia J. Williams

DEPARTMENTS: *Architecture*, Jane Holtz Kay; *Art*, Arthur C. Danto; *Books*, Lee Siegel; *Corporations*, Robert Sherrill; *Defense*, Michael T. Klare; *Environment*, Mark Hertsgaard; *Films*, Stuart Klawans; *Legal Affairs*, David Cole; *Music*, Jody Rosen; *Peace and Disarmament*, Jonathan Schell; *Poetry*, Grace Schulman; *United Nations*, Ian Williams; *Deadline Poet*, Calvin Trillin

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Kai Bird, George Black, Robert L. Borosage, Stephen F. Cohen, Marc Cooper, Mike Davis, Slavenka Drakulić, Robert Dreyfuss, Susan Faludi, Liza Featherstone, Thomas Ferguson, Doug Henwood, Max Holland, Molly Ivins, John Leonard, Michael Moore, Richard Pollak, Joel Rogers, Kirkpatrick Sale, Robert Scheer, Herman Schwartz, Ted Solotaroff, Edward Sorel, Gore Vidal, Jon Wiener, Amy Wilentz, Art Winslow

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS: Eyal Press, Scott Sherman

BUREAUS: *Budapest*, Miklós Vámos; *London*, Maria Margaronis and D.D. Guttenplan; *Southern Africa*, Mark Gevisser

EDITORIAL BOARD: Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Eric Foner, Philip Green, Lani Guinier, Tom Hayden, Randall Kennedy, Tony Kushner, Elinor Langer, Deborah W. Meier, Toni Morrison, Richard Parker, Michael Pertschuk, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, David Weir, Roger Wilkins

PRESIDENT: Teresa Stack

ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, SPECIAL PROJECTS/WEBSITE: Peter Rothberg
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER, DEVELOPMENT/ASSOCIATES: Peggy Randall
VICE PRESIDENT, ADVERTISING: Ellen Bollinger
ADVERTISING MANAGER, SMALL DISPLAY, EVENTS, CLASSIFIED: Leigh Novog
VICE PRESIDENT, CIRCULATION: Arthur Stupar
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Michelle O'Keefe
CIRCULATION FULFILLMENT MANAGER: Miriam Camp
PRODUCTION DIRECTOR: Omar Rubio
TYPOGRAPHER/WEB PRODUCER: Sandy McCroskey
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Timothy Don
NATION ASSOCIATES MANAGER: Peter Fifield
PUBLICITY/SYNDICATION DIRECTOR: Mike Webb
COMMUNICATIONS COORDINATOR: Habiba Alcindor
DIRECTOR OF TECHNOLOGY/WEB PUBLISHER: Scott Klein
TECHNOLOGY COORDINATOR: Amiri K. Barksdale
CONTROLLER: Mary van Valkenburg
ASSISTANT TO THE PUBLISHER AND OFFICE MANAGER: Mary Taylor Schilling
DATA ENTRY/MAIL COORDINATOR: John Holtz
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT: Kathleen Thomas/Stacy Torres
BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Joliange Wright
RECEPTIONIST/BUSINESS ASSISTANT: Larri Washington

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR: E-mail to letters@thenation.com (300-word limit). Letters are subject to editing for reasons of space and clarity.
SUBMISSIONS: Queries only, no manuscripts. Go to www.thenation.com and click on "about," then "submissions" for a query form. Queries may be mailed to The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. SASE for poems.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the second week in January, and biweekly the third week of July through the second week of September) by The Nation Company, L.P. © 2005 in the U.S.A. by The Nation Company, L.P., 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. (212) 209-5400. Washington Bureau: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington, DC 20002. (202) 546-2239. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and at additional mailing offices. Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149, or call 1-800-333-8536. Publications Mail Agreement No: 40041477. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to Circulation Dept. or DPGM, 4960-2 Walker Road, Windsor, ON N9A 6J3. **When ordering a subscription, please allow 4-6 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $4 prepaid ($6 foreign) from: The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003. The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Nation, PO Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149. Printed in U.S.A. on recycled paper.

INTERNET: Selections from the current issue become available Thursday night at www.thenation.com.

Climate and the G-8

The July 6–8 summit meeting of the Group of Eight industrial nations comes as humanity is drifting toward unparalleled catastrophe. Climate change, a prime focus of the summit, is on track to kill millions of people in the twenty-first century. The victims will die not in the sudden bang of radioactive explosions but in the gradual whimper of environmental collapse, as soaring temperatures and rising seas submerge cities, parch farmlands, crash ecosystems and spread hunger, disease and chaos worldwide.

As summit host, Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain has lobbied the heads of government gathering in Scotland to take much stronger action against climate change, a problem his science adviser, Sir David King, has called the greatest danger civilization has faced in 5,000 years. Blair has been pointing out since 2002 that the Kyoto Protocol "is not radical enough." The protocol demands 5 percent reductions in greenhouse gas emissions from 1990 levels by industrial countries only. The United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change says a 50 to 70 percent reduction by humanity as a whole is needed. To bridge that tenfold gap, Blair has urged the G-8 nations, which are responsible for the majority of previous emissions, to endorse an ambitious program of strict timelines and emissions cuts.

But Blair has been unwilling to admit the obvious: His dream of a historic breakthrough on climate will come only if G-8 leaders are willing to defy the Bush Administration and plot their own course. George W. Bush has made it clear he's not interested in doing anything about climate change except study it. For Bush and his right-wing base, the non-existence of climate change is an article of faith, like the non-existence of evolution, and it doesn't matter what scientists say. Nevertheless, Blair insists the United States must be part of any climate accord, arguing, "If you simply exclude America from this equation, we'll never get it done." The result is, Bush gets a veto over the world's progress.

To counter Bush's objection that Kyoto excuses rising industrial powers from emissions reductions, Blair invited China, India, Brazil, South Africa and Mexico to Scotland to entice commitments from them as well. Bush didn't budge. Three weeks before the summit, leaked drafts showed that US negotiators had demanded removal of all references to the urgency of climate change from the summit's final accord. No longer would the G-8 leaders endorse "ambitious targets and timetables" for emissions reductions or fund alternative energy development. They wouldn't even acknowledge basic scientific findings that climate change has already begun and is due largely to human activity.

There is common ground between Bush and Blair, however, and it hints at the kind of deal that, unfortunately, might emerge from this summit. One year ago, Blair disclosed to a parliamentary committee that Washington was pressing Britain to support a new generation of nuclear reactors that were supposedly safer and cheaper. According to a report in the *Guardian*, Blair told the committee that "if you are serious about the issue of climate change," nuclear power must be part of the solution. Unlike coal, oil and natural gas combustion, nuclear fission produces

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Think of them as a reprieve from the world around you. Whether it's the engine roar inside an airplane cabin, the bustle of the city or the distractions in the office, Bose QuietComfort® 2 headphones help them fade softly into the background. And they do it with the flick of a switch. You can savor the delicate musical nuances without disturbing others. And when you're not listening to music, you can slip into a tranquil haven – where you can relax and enjoy peace and solitude. Clearly, these are no ordinary headphones. It's no exaggeration to say they're one of those things you have to experience to believe.

Use them as a concert hall – or a sanctuary.

Presenting The Bose® QuietComfort® 2 Acoustic Noise Cancelling® Headphones.

Reduce noise with Bose technology. Our headphones were designed primarily for airplane travelers. But owners soon started telling us how much they enjoy using them in other places to reduce distractions around them. QuietComfort® 2 headphones incorporate patented technology that electronically identifies and dramatically reduces noise, while faithfully preserving the music, movie dialogue or tranquility you desire. *Technologyreview.com* reports, "It's as if someone behind your back reached out, found the volume control of the world, and turned it way, way, down." Perfect for listening to music, whether you're on the go, at home or in the office.

That's what columnist Rich Warren says. To enjoy peace and tranquility, simply turn them on. To add Bose quality sound, attach the included audio cord and connect them to a home stereo, laptop computer, portable CD/DVD/MP3 player or in-flight audio system. When you're done, their convenient fold-flat design allows for easy storage in the slim carrying case.

Try the QuietComfort® 2 headphones for yourself risk free. We don't expect you to take our word for how dramatically these headphones reduce noise, how clean and full the audio sounds or how comfortably they fit. You really must experience them to believe it. Call toll free to try them for 30 days on your next trip, in your home or at the office – satisfaction guaranteed. If you aren't delighted, simply return them for a full refund.

Call 1-800-636-2073, ext. Q4107 today. These headphones are available directly from Bose – the most respected name in sound. So call and discover a very different kind of headphone – Bose QuietComfort® 2 Acoustic Noise Cancelling headphones.

FREE shipping with your order.

Enjoy your music with our best headphone sound quality ever. *CNET* says "All sorts of music – classical, rock, and jazz – sounded refined and natural." In fact, our QuietComfort® 2 headphones deliver audio that's so crisp and clear, you may find yourself discovering new subtleties in your music. *Travel & Leisure Golf* simply says, "Forget 'concertlike' comparisons; you'll think you're onstage with the band."

"The QuietComfort 2 lives up to its name, enveloping you in blissful sound... It's easy to forget they're on your head."

To order or for a free information kit call:

1-800-636-2073, ext. Q4107

Discover all our innovative products at

www.bose.com/q4107

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Day Phone_____ Eve. Phone_____

E-mail (Optional)_____

Mail to: Bose Corporation, Dept. DMG-Q4107, The Mountain, Framingham, MA 01701-9168

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©2005 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. Free shipping offer not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes are reprinted with permission: Simson Garfinkel, *Technologyreview.com*, 7/9/03; David Carnoy, *CNET*, 5/29/03; *Travel & Leisure Golf*, 7/03; Rich Warren, *News-Gazette*, 5/19/03.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

no carbon dioxide, the primary greenhouse gas.

Reviving nuclear power has been a priority for Bush since 2001, when the energy plan devised by Vice President Cheney advocated construction of hundreds of new nuclear plants. Bush's 2006 budget proposes reducing funding for the Energy Department by 2 percent even as nuclear funding increases 5 percent.

Watch, then, for the following deal at the summit, especially if other G-8 leaders are unwilling to challenge Bush's intransigence. In their final accord the G-8 leaders could agree to disagree about the definition of the problem—is climate change an urgent danger or not?—but unite behind a shared solution: rapid development of zero-carbon energy sources that produce no greenhouse gases. The choice of which sources to emphasize—solar, wind, efficiency or nuclear—could be left up to each nation, though it's worth noting that the drafts US negotiators altered specifically endorsed nuclear.

Such a deal would allow Blair, Bush and other G-8 leaders to claim a face-saving diplomatic victory. It would also probably be applauded for its realism and flexibility by media outlets and corporate voices on both sides of the Atlantic. After all, the argument will go, even some environmentalists now accept that nuclear is part of the solution to climate change, assuming that safety concerns are addressed.

But investing in nuclear power would actually make the climate predicament worse. The reasons are economic: Nuclear is seven times less cost-effective at displacing carbon than is energy efficiency, according to studies by the Rocky Mountain Institute. In other words, a dollar invested in insulating a drafty house displaces seven times more coal than a dollar invested in a nuclear power plant, mainly because of nuclear's immense capital costs. (Industry spokespeople like to brag that nuclear is cheaper than wind power, but they count only the cost of operating the plant, not of constructing it—a trick that would make a Rolls Royce cheap to drive, since the gasoline but not the purchase price would matter.) In a world of limited capital, investing in nuclear would take funding away from the cheapest (and fastest) alternative—efficiency—thus slowing the world's withdrawal from carbon fuels.

Alas, most environmentalists have failed to argue this angle (with the exception of the Nuclear Information and Resource Service, a tiny NGO that has been bird-dogging the industry since the 1970s). Environmentalists focus more on the safety problems that plague nuclear power, starting with the lack of a solution, despite sixty years of experience, to waste disposal. And while there have been no catastrophic accidents at Western nuclear plants since Three Mile Island in 1979, a recent investigation by *Time* quotes many industry insiders warning that terrorists could easily overwhelm the safeguards at US nuclear plants and trigger meltdowns that would kill millions.

The idea that environmentalists are nonetheless warming up to nuclear power was promoted by a front-page story in the May 15 *New York Times*. But independent checking suggests that the article's claims were overstated. Of four environmentalists cited, only Stewart Brand truly supports nuclear, but Brand is a writer who speaks only for himself, not the larger environmental movement. Gus Speth, a board member of the Natural Resources Defense Council, and Jonathan Lash, president of the World Resources Institute, told me the *Times* had omitted crucial context for their remarks; their actual position, in Lash's words, is that "energy efficiency and renewables options will come long, long before nukes." Fred Krupp, president of the Environmental Defense Fund, did not reply to an interview request but was one of thirteen leaders of major environmental organizations who wrote to Senators John McCain and Joseph Lieberman, reluctantly opposing their Climate Stewardship Act because it subsidized nuclear energy. Nevertheless, the myth of environmental support for nuclear is now sufficiently entrenched to provide cover for Bush's agenda, at least in the United States.

For the G-8 to endorse Bush's agenda, however, would be not only wrongheaded but unnecessary. Blair is right that the United States, as the world's leading greenhouse gas emitter, must be part of the response to climate change. His mistake is to equate the United States with the Bush Administration. Despite the latter's foot-dragging, many major American institutions have begun taking meaningful action on climate change. The US Conference of Mayors voted unanimously in June to meet or exceed the Kyoto targets. New York and eight other states are establishing a carbon-trading system to reduce emissions. California has required cars to emit 30 percent less greenhouse gas (a move copied by six other states) and is joining eight states in suing electric utilities, in a case that could become the greenhouse equivalent of the tobacco industry litigation. Institutions holding $3 trillion in investment assets have demanded that US corporations hoping to borrow from them first demonstrate how they are reducing greenhouse emissions. Combined, these and other actions amount to real movement against climate change by a global powerhouse; after all, California alone ranks as the world's fifth-largest economy. Regardless of what Bush does, if the G-8 would make common cause with these American states and institutions, together they could drive global climate policy.

It's too late to prevent climate change. But the G-8 leaders could give humanity a better chance of surviving it if they have the courage to do the right thing in Scotland: endorse binding emissions cuts and early deadlines so corporate ingenuity and marketplace discipline can accelerate progress; subsidize smart zero-carbon energy sources, starting with efficiency, rather than waste money on the dead end of nuclear energy; and don't be

MINORITY/MAJORITY

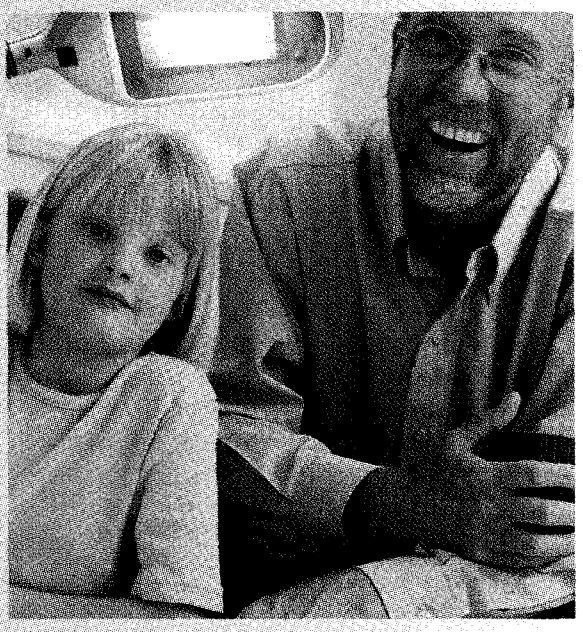
■ **Permanent Minority.** At a time of massive budget deficits, Democratic Senators Max Baucus and Blanche Lincoln are negotiating with Republicans to eliminate the federal estate tax—a levy that falls almost exclusively on the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans.

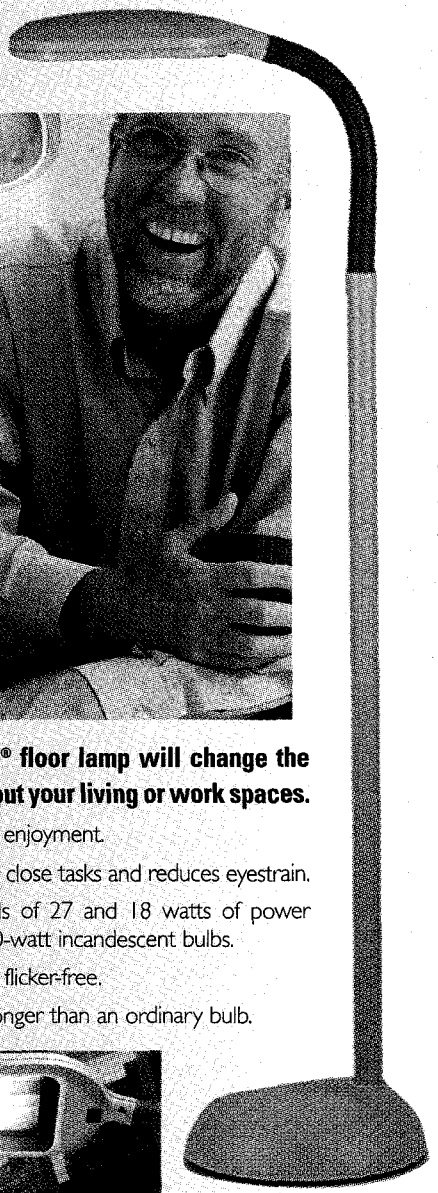
■ **Toward the Majority.** Connecticut's Democratic state legislators recently forced their Republican governor to restore the state's estate tax as a way to increase funds for crucial healthcare and education programs. In Washington State, the Democratic governor and legislators also restored the tax, meaning two states have restored their estate taxes in order to fund critical middle-class programs. —David Sirota

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A floor lamp that spreads sunshine all over a room

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp brings many of the benefits of natural daylight indoors for glare-free lighting that's perfect for a variety of indoor activities.





Height as shown: 50"

The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp will change the way you see and feel about your living or work spaces.

- See with more clarity and enjoyment.
- Provides sharp visibility for close tasks and reduces eyestrain.
- Benefit of dual light levels of 27 and 18 watts of power equivalent to 150-and 100-watt incandescent bulbs.
- "Instant On" switch that is flicker-free.
- Bulb that lasts ten times longer than an ordinary bulb.

Try the Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp for the best value ever! Now more than ever is the time to add sunshine to every room in your home at this fantastic low price! The Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp comes with a 1-year manufacturer's limited warranty and *first*STREET's exclusive guarantee. Try this product for 90 days and return it for the product purchase price if not completely satisfied.

Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp

Item# BS-3589 **.....was ~~$59.95~~**

***Save $10** with mail-in rebate

Only $49.95 ea + S&H after rebate

†FREE Bulbs for LifE. Order one Balanced Spectrum® floor lamp; if it ever needs a new bulb, we'll send you a free bulb valued at $24.95, and ALL you pay is S&H.

- or -

††Order two Balanced Spectrum® floor lamps and get **FREE FREE Bulbs for Life† plus FREE shipping** on both lamps.

††Free shipping within the Continental U.S. Only.

Please mention promotional code 30219.

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

888-933-6684

To order by mail, please call for details

www.balancedspectrum.com

*first*STREET™

SEE IT HERE FIRST

formerly TechnoScout

1998 Ruffin Mill Road • Colonial Heights, VA 23834

All rights reserved. © 2005 *first*STREET, Inc.

41343

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMMENT

afraid to leave Bush behind if he balks. It will be hard enough for humanity to defuse climate change if we do everything right; there's no time to wait for Godot. MARK HERTSGAARD

Mark Hertsgaard, The Nation*'s environment correspondent, is the author most recently of* Earth Odyssey: Around the World in Search of Our Environmental Future *and* The Eagle's Shadow: Why America Fascinates and Infuriates the World.

Plan B for Plan B

In April 2003 Barr Pharmaceuticals submitted an application to the Food and Drug Administration requesting that Plan B—an emergency contraceptive often referred to as the morning-after pill—be made available without a prescription and sold straight from the drugstore shelves, like condoms.

Twenty-seven months later, American women are no closer to having easy access to Plan B, which prevents an unplanned pregnancy if taken within seventy-two hours after unprotected intercourse. Currently facing sharp criticism from both the left and right over its bungling of the matter, the FDA today simply refuses to issue a decision on emergency contraception, although one was due this past January. Veteran observers pronounce the FDA "stuck in the mud" on Plan B.

The present standoff is a testament to the extraordinary influence of the Christian right over Bush Administration policy on women's reproductive health.

Eight months after Barr submitted its initial application, an FDA advisory committee voted overwhelmingly (23 to 4) to go over-the-counter with emergency contraception. Scientists on the panel determined the drug to be both safe and effective, ruling that easy access to Plan B was critical to preventing unintended pregnancies, thereby reducing the need for abortion.

That should have been the end of it. But Bush Administration officials, concerned at the time with marshaling the evangelical vote in the presidential election, weren't pleased with the committee's decision. As *The Nation* first reported in May, an FDA staff member contacted Dr. W. David Hager—a controversial evangelical Ob-Gyn on the panel who voted against Plan B—and requested that Hager write a "minority opinion" to further elucidate objections he raised during the hearings; namely, that wider access to emergency contraception would increase "risky behavior" among girls as young as 11 or 12 [see McGarvey, "Dr. Hager's Family Values," May 30].

But the FDA had on hand six independent studies confirming that expanded access to Plan B in no way increased sexual activity among young teens (and subsequent studies have confirmed those results).

Despite an intense lobbying effort by physicians and women's groups, in May 2004 top FDA officials bowed to election-year pressures and denied Barr's application to make Plan B available over the counter. The rejection letter to the manufacturer echoed precisely Hager's concerns about the safe use of the drug by girls under 16.

But Barr wasn't ready to call it quits. In July 2004 the manufacturer submitted a second application, this time proposing a compromise: that Plan B be marketed as prescription-only to girls under 16, and as nonprescription to older users—effectively giving one product a "dual status." Under this scheme, a woman looking for Plan B will enter a drugstore, approach the pharmacy counter and ask the pharmacist or technician if the store carries emergency contraception. If it does, she must show an ID to confirm that she is older than 16 in order to purchase the product. Girls under 16 are out of luck.

This proposed "behind-the-counter" arrangement raises several serious concerns. Never before has the FDA approved a drug for this type of distribution, and it is unclear whether the agency even has the statutory and regulatory authority to do so. Some industry experts worry that a new label will make large pharmacy chains nervous about stocking Plan B at all, given the possibility of a lawsuit over such a hot-button product. (Wal-Mart already refuses to carry Plan B in its pharmacies, citing its customers' ethical concerns over the drug.) Women's groups have called the new age requirement a "bogus" response to political pressure; advocates fear that women seeking anonymity will be deterred from purchasing the morning-after pill if it requires an interaction with a pharmacist.

The dual-status scheme doesn't satisfy the hard right, either. Concerned Women for America, perhaps the morning-after pill's most vocal opponent, has called on the FDA to reject Barr's revised application, claiming (preposterously) that rapists and molesters will slip Plan B pills to young women to "hide" their crimes.

After the FDA missed the January deadline to respond to Barr's second application, in February the Bush Administration nominated Lester Crawford to serve as the agency's permanent commissioner. Senate Democrats Hillary Clinton and Patty Murray have placed a hold on Crawford's nomination until the agency announces its decision on Plan B. To date, the FDA has issued no further information on the future of emergency contraception. Nor has a vote been scheduled to bring Crawford's nomination to the Senate floor.

As for Dr. Hager: On May 11 *The Nation* published its story revealing his behind-the-scenes role in the Plan B decision, as well as his ex-wife's allegations that Hager sexually and emotionally abused her throughout their thirty-two-year marriage. The next day Hager announced that he would step down from his FDA post. "I will no longer be on the advisory committee after June 30," he said. AYELISH MCGARVEY

Ayelish McGarvey is a writing fellow at The American Prospect.

NATION NOTES

Our Deadline Poet is on vacation this week. And speaking of vacation, with this issue *The Nation* goes on its biweekly summer schedule. We will resume our normal schedule in late August.

On the Web: William Greider decries the Congressional Democrats' decision to "compromise" on the estate tax. Christopher Hayes reports on Ohio's "Coingate" scandal, noting the opportunity it presents to hammer the GOP on corruption (www.thenation.com).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We found our best watch in a history book

In 1922, a small watchmaker in Switzerland designed the first automatic watch to display the day, month and date. Only 7 of these magnificent timepieces were ever made and this watch was almost lost to history. Today, they are so rare that our watch historians are willing to bid $300,000 for an original in mint condition.

These watches were among the most stylish of the Roaring '20s. The Stauer watch design that you see here has the antique color, the vintage style and the innovative functions of the original that we have seen in a Swiss museum. Even the Breguet™ style hands are designed from the original. The owner of this legendary multi-functional watch is sure to look distinguished and set apart from the crowd. This Stauer watch is a limited edition, allowing you to wear a watch far more exclusive than many luxury watches.

This beautiful timepiece has a 24-jewel mechanical movement, the kind desired by fine antique watch collectors. We have updated this movement with an automatic rotor thus the watch never needs to be manually wound. The watch comes in a beautiful crocodile embossed case and has a two year warranty on the automatic movement.

This is a chance to claim a piece of watchmaking history in an elegant design that is still priced to wear every day. This offer is being made directly to you so you can add this watch to your collection at a very affordable price. The watch comes with a 30-day no questions asked money-back guarantee. If you're not completely satisfied, simply return it for a full refund of the purchase price.

Now available for the first time at $99

Not Available in Stores

Call now to take advantage of this limited offer.

Stauer 1922 ~~$295~~

3 Payments of $33+S&H

800-859-6584

Promotional Code SNN852-14

Please mention this when you call.

To order by mail, please call for details.

NEXTTEN

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. SNN852-14
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day **800-859-6584**

Learn more about the history of the 1922 classic at www.Nextten.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

COMIX NATION

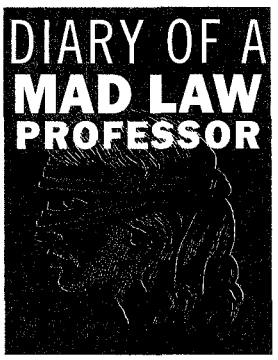
Jules Feiffer's new children's novel, A Room with a Zoo, *will be published in September*

JULES FEIFFER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PATRICIA J. WILLIAMS

Extrajudicial Activism



A few weeks ago, I was going through some of my father's photo albums from the early 1930s, when he was in high school in Georgia. Among them was a picture of a prison gang, of black men dressed in black-and-white-striped uniforms, chained at the ankles, hoeing the field next-door to the school. At the moment the album fell open to this particular picture, the media was abuzz with Senator Dick Durbin's apology for comparing Guantánamo Bay to Nazi camps and Stalinist gulags. The air was highly charged because Amnesty International had made similar accusations; the Red Cross was expressing concern that American doctors were overseeing the administration of torture; the American Civil Liberties Union was expressing outrage that the government was using specious categorizations of "material witness" status to detain people without charge; the Italian government was indicting CIA agents for snatching an Italian citizen and sending him to Egypt to be tortured. There were investigations of thirty-three deaths of detainees in various American camps around the world (there has been little official accounting for those deaths and little public outcry at the lack thereof). And the Center for Constitutional Rights was calling attention to the one-year anniversary of its Supreme Court victory in winning access to federal courts for detainees. Unfortunately, this decision has not resulted in a single detainee having enjoyed a judicial hearing or been privy to any evidence against him, for the Administration has maintained that although enemy combatants may have "access" to the courts, they have no constitutional rights the United States is bound to respect.

As I meditated upon this messy time of ours, it seemed to me that the comparison to Hitler and Stalin is undoubtedly doomed for dismissal as an unconscionably disproportionate overstatement and that the better, if no less upsetting, comparison is to our own history of dual justice during the time of Jim Crow. Also in the news was the conviction of Edgar Ray Killen, the Klansman who planned the murders of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Mississippi, during the summer of 1964. National attention had been sparked by the fact that two of the victims were white men. During the search for them authorities found at least nine other bodies, the remains of black men whose disappearances and murders had attracted no publicity at all.

I am not suggesting that there is a direct comparison to the brutality of those times and the complexities of the war in which we find ourselves now engaged. But I do worry that, however indirectly or unconsciously, our history shapes our approach to the present and to what we perceive as threatening. My father's daily regard of that field full of men still lives within him; and the life narratives my father passed on to me are haunted by those men. Some of them were dangerous criminals, but some were victims of a contract labor system under which they could be arrested pretty much at random, imprisoned on trumped-up charges and lynched with impunity at any time. The randomness of their confinement and the carelessness with which they might die fostered, rather than suppressed, an oppositional politics of identity in the African-American community.

Today most Americans look at Edgar Ray Killen and think of him as an archaic exemplar of home-grown terrorism. It is sometimes harder to remember that the Klan's politics were premised on fears of its own—fears of rebellion and of outsiders and of evil overtaking law-abiding Christians. A desperately traumatized sense of threat drove their militancy. A sense of innocence within and terror without. The rule of law was not something that "the lesser races" could understand, thus justifying the suspension of that law. "Can't take the chance" was the mantra of those times.

At the moment, "why take a chance" seems to be the only standard to which We the People hold the Commander in Chief and to which he in turn holds soldiers. We must own up to how grandly amoral a license that is. President Bush, Donald Rumsfeld, Condoleezza Rice and Alberto Gonzales are surely neither Nazis nor Klansmen, but should we not be troubled by the uncomfortable moral territory into which they have drawn us and those soldiers on the ground? It is hard, I think, to come to grips with the fact—and it is established fact, according to our own military—that some of the men in our detention facilities are innocent of terrorism, as innocent as were some of the men working on the chain gang in 1930s Georgia. It does not make light of the threat that Al Qaeda presents to insist that we also not ignore the shape of our own fear and the ethical dilemma that our present policies present.

Consider this language from a 1937 recruitment poster for the White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan of Mississippi; consider how familiar its rhetoric is, in its panic-stricken sense of embattlement: "There comes a time in the life of every man when he has to choose between the right or wrong side of life." "There are today many alien forces entering the United States of America bent upon its destruction." "We have nothing dishonorable to hide, but we must remain SECRET for the protection of our lives and families." "Our governmental principles are precisely those of the ORIGINAL U.S. Constitution." "The inherent balance and reason of this system has little or no attraction for these persons of alien culture. They generally prefer to shirk Individual Responsibility, grab up as much material wealth as they can, and accept Centralized Authority and Dictatorship, in the hope that they can buy special favors and privileges for themselves." "The issue is clearly one of personal, physical SELF-DEFENSE or DEATH for the American Anglo-Saxons."

The news of the past few weeks also included an apology in the Senate for its resisting, during the better half of the twentieth century, passage of a federal anti-lynching law. It was a small thing, probably insignificant, but more than a dozen senators absented themselves from that vote. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ERIC ALTERMAN

Lying Liars & the Presidents Who Employ Them

The respective media flaps involving Senate Democratic whip Richard Durbin and presidential *consigliere* Karl Rove invites a kind of admixture of awe and revulsion at the state of American political discourse and the media's inability to make the most fundamental kinds of distinctions to help citizens navigate it.

Durbin's offense, which set off a conservative firestorm that eventually forced an apology, was to express alarm about an FBI report describing Guantánamo prisoners as "chained hand and foot in a fetal position to the floor, with no chair, food or water... urinat[ing] or defecat[ing] on themselves...for 18–24 hours or more." Durbin allowed that such behavior struck him as less appropriate to Americans than to "Nazis, Soviets in their gulags, or some mad regime." Clearly, Durbin was paying tribute to American ideals and expressing his dismay over their violation. But the mere mention of the words "Nazi" and "gulag" gave conservatives in the media the opportunity to decry an analogy he never made, beat their chickenhawk breasts about "dishonoring the military" and to tar all opponents with the same brush.

As Karl Rove's comments later demonstrated, however, Durbin's cave was pointless. Speaking to New York's Conservative Party, Rove all but termed Durbin—and every liberal—a traitor:

> Conservatives saw the savagery of 9/11 and the attacks and prepared for war; liberals saw the savagery of the 9/11 attacks and wanted to prepare indictments and offer therapy and understanding for our attackers. In the wake of 9/11, conservatives believed it was time to unleash the might and power of the United States military against the Taliban; in the wake of 9/11, liberals believed it was time to submit a petition. I am not joking. Submitting a petition is precisely what MoveOn.org did. It was a petition imploring the powers that be to "use moderation and restraint in responding to the...terrorist attacks against the United States."... Conservatives saw what happened to us on 9/11 and said: We will defeat our enemies. Liberals saw what happened to us and said: We must understand our enemies. Conservatives see the United States as a great nation engaged in a noble cause; liberals see the United States and they see Nazi concentration camps, Soviet gulags and the killing fields of Cambodia. Has there been a more revealing moment this year than when Democratic Senator Richard Durbin, speaking on the Senate floor, compared what Americans had done to prisoners in our control at Guantánamo Bay with what was done by Hitler, Stalin and Pol Pot—three of the most brutal and malevolent figures in the twentieth century? Let me put this in fairly simple terms: Al Jazeera now broadcasts to the region the words of Senator Durbin, certainly putting America's men and women in uniform in greater danger. No more needs to be said about the motives of liberals.

Rove's comments were purposeful lies. The MoveOn.org petition he describes was written by Eli Pariser before he worked for the organization and was written before the perpetrators of 9/11 had been identified. (It says nothing about "therapy.") Moreover, MoveOn.org itself supported military action in Afghanistan. Most significant, polling data demonstrate that 84 percent of self-described liberals, two weeks after the attacks, supported "military action" against the terrorists, and 75 percent supported "going to war with a nation that is harboring those responsible." The Bush Administration, in contrast, proved far more interested in going to war against people who had nothing to do with the attacks; in doing so, it invited Al Qaeda to regroup and bin Laden to run free.

Why Rove felt compelled to launch this particular McCarthyite missive now is not ultimately knowable. Perhaps he is growing desperate, as the President's popularity ratings spiral south, and Americans—by a 49 to 44 percent margin—tell pollsters that George W. Bush, not Saddam Hussein, holds the greatest responsibility for the horrific war in Iraq. But Rove is no dummy. He knows he can say just about anything about anyone and conservative pundits will bark "Amen." His vicious denigration of the patriotism of so many New Yorkers (and American soldiers, I might add, many of whom are liberals) was not so different from the false and malicious charges leveled not merely by Bill O'Reilly and Rush Limbaugh but also by allegedly responsible commentators, including Andrew Sullivan, Christopher Hitchens and Peter Beinart. (It was Beinart, you will recall, who, in his famous "A Fighting Faith" article, introduced the redbaiter's well-worn tactic against MoveOn.org of seeking to blame the organization for petitions it did not write and websites it did not control. He also sought to draw an equation between the questioning of the Administration's military strategy and the support of the communist side during the cold war.)

Rove's defenders, including White House press secretary Scott McClellan and New York Governor George Pataki, changed the subject to Durbin rather than offer even meek criticism of the second most powerful man in America (after Dick Cheney). But remember: Durbin paid tribute to America's ideals. Rove not only lied about liberals, he mocked the very concepts of "moderation," "restraint" and "understanding" as un-American. Durbin criticized no one but the torturers; Rove slandered more than 20 percent of Americans who proudly identify themselves as liberals.

And where were the mainstream media in all this? With just a few honorable exceptions they were passing along without prejudice Rove's slander and lies and the deliberate distortions of Durbin's words. Typically, *Washington Post* media cop Howard Kurtz adopted the White House spin with a report titled "Downplaying Durbin, Jumping on Rove." The smart guys at The Note explained that Democrats were asking for this kind of thing with their general wimpiness. Apparently, it's not a reporter's business to decide what's true anymore, just who sounds more macho.

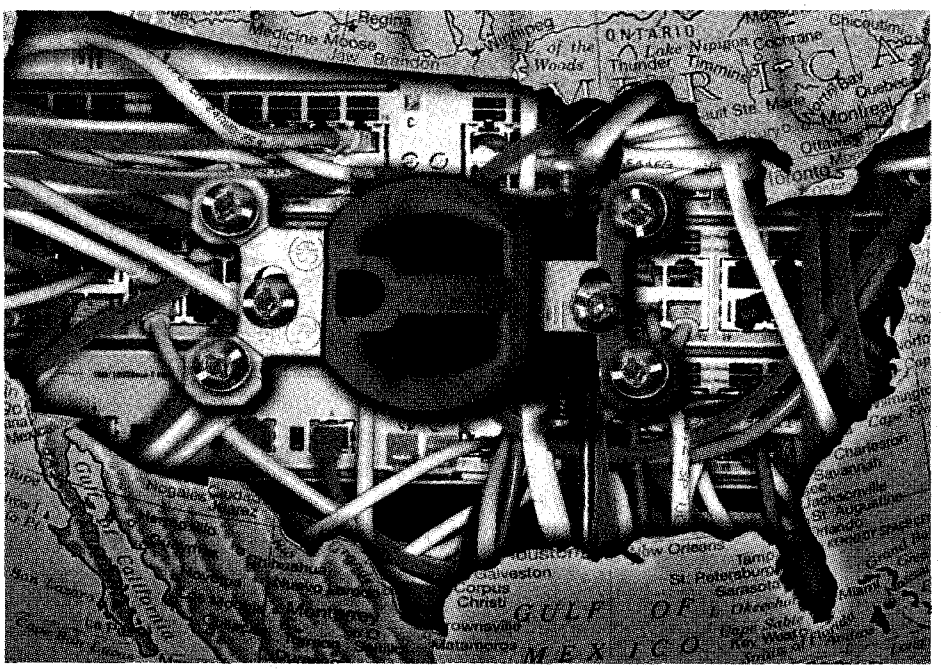
There's a lesson for liberals in all this: American politics has become a game with no rules and no referee. Play by the old rules—fairness, honesty, good faith—and face political extinction. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES

RECONNECTING TO THE WORLD

A Foreign Policy for Democrats



by SHERLE R. SCHWENNINGER

For the sake of party unity, many Democrats last year put aside their differences with John Kerry's foreign policy positions, in particular his tortured support for the war in Iraq. Situating the party as close to the Bush agenda as possible without actually embracing it, it was argued, was a reasonable price to pay for taking back the White House. The gambit—of being long on national security and the "war on terror" and short on the economy and jobs—failed, however, to persuade working-class and suburban voters in places like Ohio and Missouri, reinforcing the public view that the Democrats have no mind of their own on issues of great national and international importance.

Unchastened, the neoliberal wing of the party wants the Democrats to repeat this gambit by toughening their rhetoric and committing yet more resources to the fight against what they describe as Islamic jihadism. In a *New Republic* essay late last year, Peter Beinart called on Democrats to rediscover their "fighting faith" and to commit themselves to a new generational struggle against "Islamic fascism." More recently, *Blueprint* magazine, the house organ of the Democratic Leadership Council, published a statement on national security, signed by leading Democrats, urging the party to "make winning the war against Islamic jihadism the party's first priority." The group's agenda—prosecuting the global "war on terror," democratizing the Middle East and increasing the military's ground forces—is echoed by likely Democratic presidential candidates, including Senators Joe Biden and Hillary Clinton.

These exhortations are particularly troubling because they come at a time when the Administration itself is being forced to rethink significant parts of its post-9/11 foreign policy and just when much of the nation has reopened its mind to a larger set of international concerns. Rather than seizing the moment to point us in a more constructive direction, much of the Democratic leadership is reinforcing a foreign policy agenda that has divided us from the world, inserted us more deeply into an Islamic civil war and drained us politically and economically, all the while distracting us from many of the real challenges to our security and well-being. The party—indeed, the nation—deserves a better alternative.

The Neoliberal Narrative

If the muscular neoliberal narrative sounds familiar, it is because it is modeled on an earlier triumphant struggle—the one waged against the Soviet Union. As seen in these terms, the world is now threatened by Islamic jihadism, whose determined proponents threaten to overrun the entire Muslim region and sow terror in the United States. Islamic jihadism, we are told, is first and foremost a product of the lack of freedom in much of the Islamic world. Thus the United States must commit itself not just to a global "war on terror" but to a new mission to democratize and liberalize the greater Middle East. This mission, we are informed, must take priority over other urgent public challenges. Sound market economics will take care of much of the rest.

After reading the statement published in *Blueprint*, one might reasonably conclude that car bombs are going off daily in Washington, New York and Los Angeles and that governments across the Middle East are in danger of falling to jihadist insurgents. But John Kerry, for all his other failings as a presidential candidate, was correct when he intimated to a *New York Times* reporter that while it may not be possible to eliminate terrorism entirely, it could be reduced to a nuisance. Indeed, the experience of other countries, many of them more vulnerable to terrorist attack, would support that view.

At worst, Islamic jihadism is a regional problem—in Europe,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Middle East and parts of Africa and Southeast Asia. But as Gilles Kepel and other experts on Islamism have argued, even in the case of the Middle East, bin Laden–inspired groups have been remarkably unsuccessful in shaking any government (except for Afghanistan in the 1990s) or in galvanizing the Muslim masses into action. And they would have been even less successful had it not been for counterproductive American actions, especially the war in Iraq. It is not a coincidence that the governments that feel most vulnerable to Islamic jihadism are those that have had a close association with the United States, or on whose soil the United States has left the heaviest footprint.

Even in the region, Islamic jihadism may not be the most serious problem today. That worry goes to the growing sectarian conflict between the Sunni and Shiite communities that the Iraq War has helped provoke. The Sunni-Shiite divide runs directly through the region's oil-producing belt, and a Sunni-Shiite-Kurdish war in Iraq could draw in all the area's major powers, including Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. This, more than religious extremists, occupies the minds of many people in these three countries as well as in Turkey, Syria and Iran.

But even assuming that Islamic jihadism is a regional threat, this does not mean that a muscular American response would be the most appropriate one. Rather, if Washington were serious about damping down Islamic jihadism it would reduce America's heavy footprint in the region, not increase it; make a more serious attempt to address the legitimate grievances that arouse the passions of many in the Muslim world, especially Israel's occupation of the West Bank, not try to fudge them over; and internationalize American policy, not make it more difficult for other leading nations to be engaged. It would also help create the conditions for economic growth and development, not put new obstacles in the way by arousing more religious tensions and divisions.

The region, of course, does need democratic and economic reform, and Arabs are frustrated by Washington's support for authoritarian governments. But this does not mean that the lack of democracy is the principal cause—or that an American push for democratization is the principal cure—of terrorism and Islamic jihadism. In an exhaustive study, political scientist Robert Pape has concluded—correctly, in my view—that occupation is the single biggest cause of suicidal terrorism worldwide. And as Afshin Molavi of the New America Foundation has documented, what the people of the region want most is jobs and economic opportunity—understandably so, since unemployment runs as high as 25 percent in many Arab countries and even higher among the two-thirds of the population under 35.

Absent further heavy-handed American intervention, there is good reason to believe that bin Ladenism will eventually burn itself out, just as Western radical movements did in the 1970s and as the Iranian revolution did in the 1980s. Given the hunger for jobs and economic opportunity, bin Ladenism will eventually be seen for what it is—a futile attempt to deal with the modern world. Fascism and Communism were so dangerous because they could actually deliver the goods of modernization and jobs—at least for a period of time. This suggests the need for a prudent counterterrorist strategy combined with patient multilateral encouragement of political and economic reform aimed at building liberal state institutions, protecting human rights and creating jobs. Encouraging elections is desirable too, but only if we are willing to live with the results—which many neoliberals may not be prepared to do, given their intense dislike for Hezbollah and Hamas, two groups that are most likely to benefit from elections in Lebanon and Palestine, respectively.

The biggest problem with the neoliberal agenda is not just that it may be wrong but that it may be dangerously so. Breaking apart old orders always unleashes forces that we do not understand and cannot control. The notion that we can dial up just the right amount and just the right brand of democracy is naïve at best. It is the same mentality that has helped unleash the current forces of chaos in Iraq. And if Iraq is any guide, the neoliberal project would put the United States in the middle of the chaos and conflict that is likely to result, without a strategy for knowing how to control what it has set in motion. It is understandable that the major European governments want little or nothing to do with this venture, and that the rising powers of East Asia want to keep Washington's "war on terror" as far away from them as possible while they concentrate on growing rich and strong.

Without any real allies or any reasonable chance of success, the United States would dramatically increase its military costs with an extended US crusade. But there is no reason to believe that additional ground forces, as some leading Democrats propose, would be any more effective than the ones already in Iraq, or for that matter any less destabilizing than the ones we had to pull out of Saudi Arabia just a few years ago or out of Lebanon in 1984.

In the 1920s Britain too got caught up—and bogged down—in imperial adventures in the Middle East, weakening itself and ignoring rumblings in Europe and Asia and worrying problems in a globalized economy. Similarly, the neoliberal agenda today would distract us from much more fundamental concerns, whether they be our own economic weaknesses or the challenges posed by the further integration of China and India into the world economy. It naïvely assumes that the American people will be content to finance an even larger Iraq War while they lose jobs to China and India. And it assumes that foreigners will continue to lend us enormous sums even if we remain mired in a Middle East war running up billions of dollars in debts.

Crowding Out Liberalism at Home

Eight months after American forces entered Iraq, *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman urged liberals to get on board what he called "the most important liberal, revolutionary U.S. democracy-building project since the Marshall plan." In exhorting liberals to support occupation and nation-building in Iraq, Friedman perhaps unwittingly revealed the emptiness of the neoliberal hawk worldview: Liberalism from this point forward would be defined not by new programs to strengthen America at home but by noble activism abroad. The neoliberal agenda, in fact, has stood the traditional relationship between foreign policy and domestic society on its head. Traditionally, the overarching purpose of American foreign policy has been to shape a world order favorable to the American

Sherle R. Schwenninger, a senior fellow at the World Policy Institute at New School University, is the director of the Global Middle Class Program at the New America Foundation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

democratic way of life. But now our foreign policy ambitions are to define our domestic society, not vice versa.

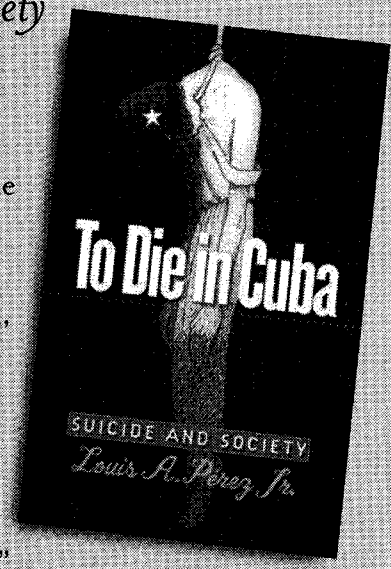
Thus in the view of many neoliberals, it is perfectly reasonable to spend more than $200 billion and to send young men and women to die in Iraq but unthinkable for budgetary reasons to commit even a smaller sum to rural or urban redevelopment at home. In foreign policy, neoliberals are guided by a triumphalist can-do spirit; on domestic policy they display an uncharacteristic modesty: In their view, it is possible for the United States to re-engineer centuries of political culture in the Middle East and navigate the difficult shoals of Shiite, Sunni and Kurdish political currents in Iraq but not at all feasible to change the gang culture in East LA or to end poverty in America.

This same set of misplaced priorities is also evident in the area of international economic policy. In the 1990s the Clinton Administration embarked on a revolutionary agenda to liberalize the world's financial and trading system, an effort that continued until the world financial crisis of 1997–98. As seen by the Clintonites, it was thinkable to change decades of economic practice in East Asia in a few short years, but not at all thinkable to design economic policies that would insure rising wages and economic security in both developed and emerging economies. Globalization, we were told, was a natural and immutable force, and domestic society must bend to the demands of globalization, not vice versa.

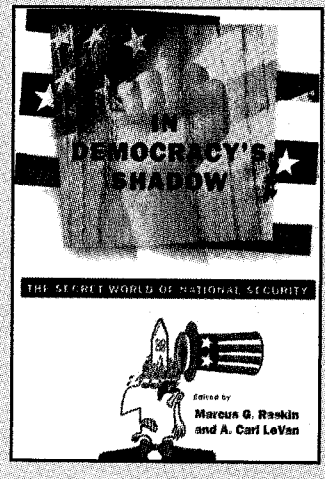
Put together, this mix of neoliberal activism abroad and inaction at home has created a very unhealthy Democratic Party agenda, offering rank-and-file Democrats fantasies about American greatness and nobility while forcing them to accept ever more economic insecurity and lower wages. But what if middle-class prosperity—jobs, rising wages, economic security—is intimately connected to global stability, as Franklin Roosevelt and John Maynard Keynes believed? Then what happens to the great liberal project globally? It gets overrun by rising disaffection at home and greater extremism abroad—which is exactly what is beginning to occur today.

The Twenty-Year Crisis

In his *New Republic* essay, Peter Beinart argues that the Democratic Party faces a choice similar to the one it made in 1947–48, when Harry Truman and other party leaders took a tough and uncompromising posture toward Soviet Communism. But we can learn more from the twenty-year crisis from 1919 to 1939, whose conditions bear an eerie resemblance to the challenges today. Then as now, the world's dominant power had been weakened by war and imperial adventures in Iraq and by the erosion of the competitive base of its economy, and as a result was becoming too weak to stabilize the system. Then as now, there were rising powers that could not be easily accommodated in the world economy and the international order. Then as now, several decades of globalization had created a world economy of finance and trade that had outstripped the ability of national economies to effectively manage it, while the rapid expansion of new producers had created excess capacity and inadequate consumption, which put downward pressure on profit margins and led to frequent financial manias and crises. Then as now, widespread unemployment, together with

To Die in Cuba
Suicide & Society
Louis A. Pérez Jr.
How suicide passed from the unthinkable to the unremarkable.
"Pérez provides a sober, thoughtful, thorough, and well-written account of a pathology that afflicts Cubans in the homeland and the diaspora."
—JORGE I. DOMÍNGUEZ, HARVARD UNIVERSITY
78 illus. $39.95 hardcover


THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
at bookstores or 800-848-6224 | www.uncpress.unc.edu

Nation Books.


IN DEMOCRACY'S SHADOW
The essays in this collection trace the security measures implemented since 9/11 to their roots in the cold war, documenting how secrecy, an unaccountable bureaucracy and global expansionism jeopardize American democracy. **Edited by Marcus Raskin and A. Carl LeVan** with essays by Gar Alperovitz & Kai Bird, Norman Mailer, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Seymour Melman, Anna Nelson, William Blum and others.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOBODY OWNS THE NATION.

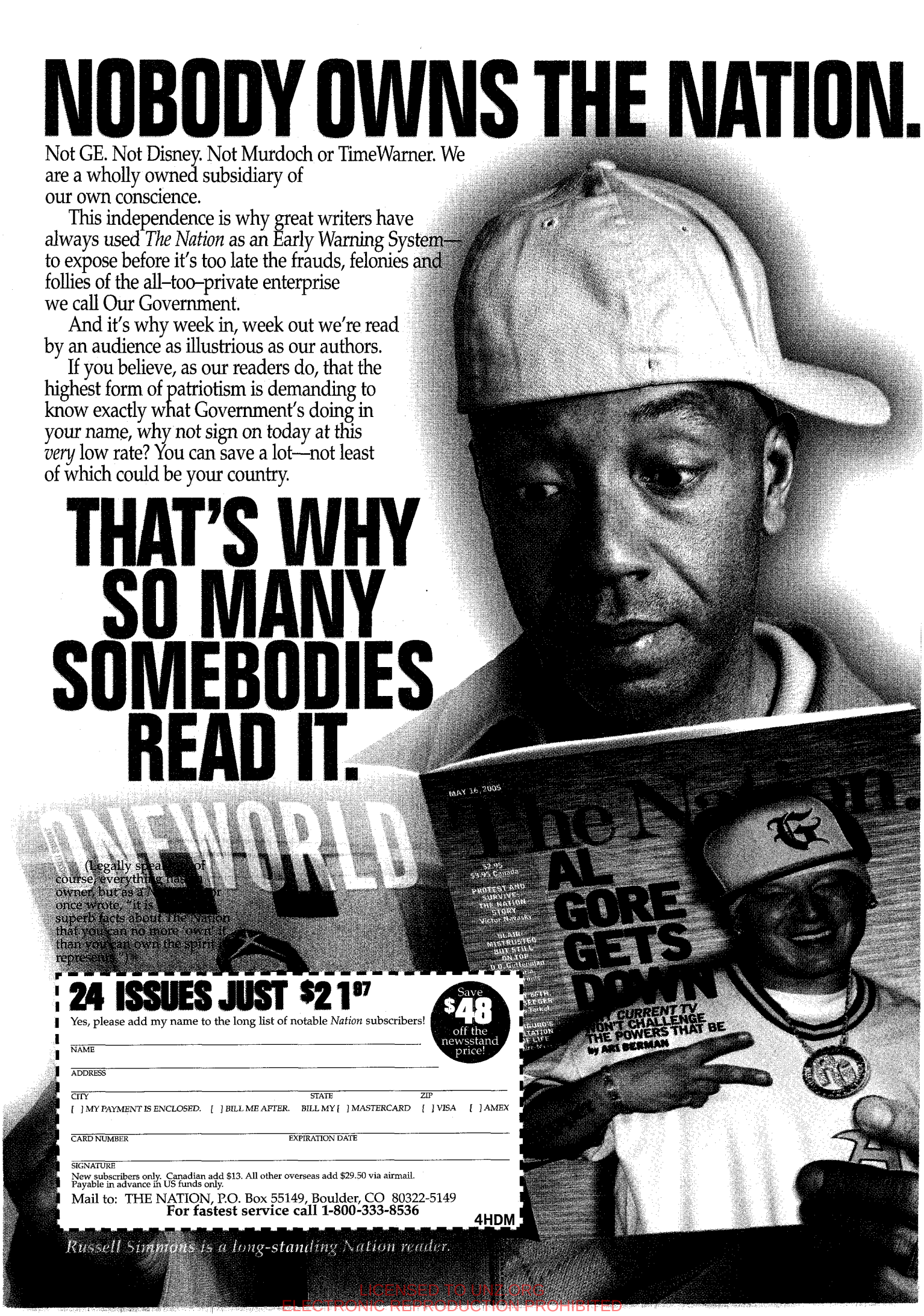
Not GE. Not Disney. Not Murdoch or TimeWarner. We are a wholly owned subsidiary of our own conscience.

This independence is why great writers have always used *The Nation* as an Early Warning System—to expose before it's too late the frauds, felonies and follies of the all-too-private enterprise we call Our Government.

And it's why week in, week out we're read by an audience as illustrious as our authors.

If you believe, as our readers do, that the highest form of patriotism is demanding to know exactly what Government's doing in your name, why not sign on today at this *very* low rate? You can save a lot—not least of which could be your country.

THAT'S WHY SO MANY SOMEBODIES READ IT.



(Legally speaking, of course, everything has an owner, but as a writer once wrote, "it is superb facts about The Nation that you can no more 'own' if than you can own the spirit it represents.")

24 ISSUES JUST $21.97

Save $48 off the newsstand price!

Yes, please add my name to the long list of notable *Nation* subscribers!

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

[ ] MY PAYMENT IS ENCLOSED. [ ] BILL ME AFTER. BILL MY [ ] MASTERCARD [ ] VISA [ ] AMEX

CARD NUMBER EXPIRATION DATE

SIGNATURE

New subscribers only. Canadian add $13. All other overseas add $29.50 via airmail. Payable in advance in US funds only.

Mail to: THE NATION, P.O. Box 55149, Boulder, CO 80322-5149

For fastest service call 1-800-333-8536

4HDM

Russell Simmons is a long-standing Nation reader.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

feelings of humiliation at the hands of one's perceived enemies, created a fertile ground for radical utopian ideologies—in that period in Germany, today in much of the Arab world. Then as now, a high-sounded idealism became the substitute for wise statecraft and cooperation.

Today we have the benefit of the lessons that Roosevelt, Keynes and others drew from this experience. We also have the legacy of many of the policies and institutions they eventually created to manage a world of multiple great powers and a globalizing world economy (even if those institutions and policies are badly in need of reform and updating). For ideological reasons, the Republicans under George W. Bush have turned their back on these lessons and institutions. But so has the neoliberal wing of the Democratic Party. Yet these lessons have far more relevance to the problems of today than does a new crusade, and far more to offer as a guide to a progressive and internationalist foreign policy. What are those lessons?

First, an international system with multiple powers cannot rest on the power of one dominant power alone. The world is too big, too complex, too diverse and too disorderly. Roosevelt therefore favored a community of power—a handful of great powers that would together assume the burdens of order-keeping and managing the world economy.

Second, such a community must include as many powers as possible without paralyzing the system, even if they do not fully share America's liberal democratic credentials. The last time the world deprived two major industrial countries, Germany and Japan, of what they considered their rightful place in the sun, the result was World War II. Today, the United States has to help find a place not only for China and India but also for other emerging powers, including regional powers like Iran.

Third, a multipolar system cannot depend on the good intentions of the great powers alone. It must rest on a broader legitimacy than power. Roosevelt and his advisers therefore sought to create international institutions, like the United Nations and the World Bank, that would help insure cooperation and bestow legitimacy on the leading powers. Multipolarity needed to be accompanied by multilateralism or a form of international governance based on the rule of law.

Fourth, peace and international stability depend as much on economic prosperity as on collective security. Collective security without collective economic cooperation is virtually impossible to maintain. Moreover, economic development has to go hand in hand with democratization. In postwar Europe, for example, US officials developed an approach that included economic reconstruction (the Marshall Plan), collective security (NATO) and the institutionalization of democratic politics.

Finally, the world economy has to be managed and it has to be based on principles of ample demand, full employment and a stable international financial system. The great conclusion of the postwar world was that international peace and prosperity depended upon making the world economy safe for the social welfare state and full employment, whether it was American-style Keynesianism or European-style social democracy.

The lessons that Roosevelt and other progressives drew from the twenty-year crisis suggests a role for the United States much different from the one being pursued by the Bush Administration and proposed by the neoliberals: less one of warrior and preacher/proselytizer and more one of architect and builder, less one of imperial cop and more one of community leader or board chairperson.

A Neo-Progressive Strategy

In the early days of the post–cold war world, advisers to President Clinton spoke of being present at the creation, much as Acheson, Marshall and the other architects of the post–World War II order had been. But unlike Acheson and Marshall, they proved better at breaking down barriers than at creating new forms of governance; at unleashing the forces of global capitalism than at creating new social contracts needed to tame it; at asserting American power in old alliances than at building a more sustainable community of power; and at talking about democratization than at helping countries achieve it. The result was not a new American century but a weakened international system.

The Bush Administration that followed has destroyed much of what remained of that system while alienating a considerable part of the world in the process. As a result, the greatest threat to the security and well-being of the American people today stems from the further breakdown of that system and the absence of anything to take its place. The rise of religious extremism and terrorist networks in the Middle East is just one product of this breakdown. The economic insecurity of working people in much of the Western world is another. So too is the disorder and failed governance that afflict parts of the developing world and that threaten to spill over into the daily lives of Americans through the spread of pandemics and criminal networks and an increase in illegal immigration. The prospect of new nuclear-weapons states and the economic rise of China and India pose yet other challenges to the international order.

The overarching goal of a progressive foreign policy therefore must be to reconnect the United States to the world by working with others to build a more durable international system. The first element of such a policy must be to recognize that the world has outgrown American power, and that the maintenance of international peace and stability must be a shared goal and burden, not an American "right" or prerogative. If anything, the cost of the Iraq War and America's mounting international debt should put an end, once and for all, to the illusion that American power can sustain a unipolar world and that we can afford both our unipolar aspirations and a decent liberal society at home. We must therefore bring America's international pretensions back into line with our domestic needs and priorities. That means we should welcome and indeed encourage a multipolar world as the best way to share the burden of international order-keeping.

The principal cold war–era institutions of collective security—NATO, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the US-Japan Security Treaty—have limited utility in dealing with the international security problems of the early twenty-first century. And the UN Security Council, although necessary for the authorization of military force and for giving legitimacy to nation-building efforts, is often too unwieldy to deal with the security problems associated with the management of regional threats. Our goal, therefore, should be to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

develop regional concerts of power for preventing regional arms races and for managing potentially dangerous conflicts. The European Union, Japan, Russia, China and India must by necessity be our main partners in this effort, but we must harness the efforts of smaller nations as well.

The most pressing challenges in this regard relate to the Middle East and to the suspected nuclear ambitions of Iran and North Korea, and thus the need for new security arrangements in the Persian Gulf and East Asia. Ironically, in the cases of Iran and North Korea, the Bush Administration has pointed the way by blessing the EU's efforts to negotiate with Iran and by relying on the six-power framework to deal with North Korea. What has been missing in each case has been active American engagement and the kind of security guarantees needed to make Iran and North Korea feel more secure and to give them a greater stake in a larger regional community.

Understandably, there are reservations about a policy of engagement with Iran and North Korea in that it would require us to overlook some unpleasant features of both regimes. The way out of this dilemma is to think of engagement as part of a larger multilateral process of establishing a new security order involving great-power cooperation in each region. In East Asia the eventual reunification of Korea must be at the core of a regional security order that further cements cooperation and forecloses new geopolitical rivalries among China, South Korea, Japan and Russia. And in the Persian Gulf the peaceful evolution of Iran is central to a new security order for containing the conflict in Iraq and for developing the oil and gas resources of the region.

The solution to our economic and foreign policy problems is to translate productivity gains into rising living standards throughout the world.

With regard to the Middle East in general, we must extract ourselves from what could escalate into what many Arabs see as a civilizational war with the Islamic world. This, however, does not mean disengaging, but rather repositioning the United States to be less of an overbearing dominant power. Our strategy toward Islamic jihadism ought to consist of lowering America's profile in the region and patiently containing bin Ladenism as it slowly loses its allure by being denied the foreign imperial enemy it needs in order to succeed. And the best way to lower our profile, without sacrificing any legitimate American interests, is to internationalize as much as possible US policy toward the Middle East—to reduce America's dominant, in-your-face presence in the region by withdrawing forces from Iraq and by sharing responsibility with the three other members of the "Quartet," the EU, Russia and the UN.

We should encourage the EU to take more responsibility for promoting democratization and economic development in the region around the European Rim, from the Maghreb to the Levant. We should also recommit ourselves to the Quartet and through it support an international conference for a comprehensive settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the establishment of a Palestinian state. By delaying discussion of the final status of such a state, we are only encouraging the most radical elements in the West Bank, Gaza and the region.

The establishment of regional security concerts must be accompanied by other great-power efforts to manage conflicts and reduce security risks. Chief among these must be a stronger effort to put all fissionable materials under international control, strengthen international safeguards against biological warfare and create a greater UN capacity for state-building. Together with America's traditional role as the guarantor of the world's sea lanes, these would constitute the principal security pillar of American foreign policy.

As the progressives who lived through the 1919–39 crisis understood, collective security is difficult to maintain without collective economic cooperation aimed at expanding middle-class prosperity. And in many respects, the foundations of collective economic management are even weaker than those for collective security. So it is here that the United States must put its greatest emphasis in the decade ahead. The lack of middle-class jobs and economic dignity is what links the growing disquiet in Ohio to the backlash against Turkish immigrants in Europe to the rise of religious radicalism in the Middle East to the appeal of Hugo Chávez in Latin America—not to mention the threat of rising nationalism in China, should economic growth and job creation falter there. That is why we have to put jobs and prosperity at the center of American foreign policy.

The problem is that we are building a world economy that is too small, too risky and too dependent on American consumption to accommodate both the aspiring middle classes of the developing world and the existing middle classes of the developed world. We are doing so because we are relying on a nineteenth-century economic philosophy that ignores the lessons of the twenty-year crisis. As in the decades before the Great Depression, rising productivity gains made possible by the spread of industrialization and technology and the opening up of new production centers and labor markets have created a glut of capacity, savings and labor. The entry of China and India into the global economy has had the effect of more than doubling the world's potential labor force. This has put downward pressure on wages in both the developed and developing worlds. This in turn has caused a fall in global aggregate demand in relation to global supply, creating a classic 1930s-style Keynesian problem relieved only by America's debt-led consumption, which is unsustainable [see William Greider, "Debtor Nation," May 10, 2004, and "Elite Protectionists," April 11].

The good news is that these developments have set the stage for a new golden age of rising prosperity—but only if we shift our economic thinking from the neoliberal, export-oriented nostrums of the 1980s and '90s to the Keynesian ideas of the 1940s and '50s. Indeed, the solution to our economic problems as well as our foreign policy dilemma is to translate those productivity gains into rising wages and living standards in the newly industrialized and developing worlds—so that working men and women there can consume more of what they produce and so that the world economy can grow in a more balanced way.

For this reason, we must make full employment and ample demand the guiding principle of international economic policy,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Did you ever read a book that changed your life? Here are 36 more.

Explore works that offer an extraordinary gift of wisdom in this 36-lecture series from The Teaching Company

Books That Have Made History: Books That Can Change Your Life is your gateway to three-dozen great works that will expand your horizons and change the way you look at the world. Some are probably already on your "must-read" list. Others you may already have read and are eager to tackle again, since a truly great book repays multiple visits.

Under the guidance of J. Rufus Fears, a three-time "Professor of the Year" at the University of Oklahoma, you will encounter the *Iliad, Bhagavad Gita, Gospel of Mark,* the *Koran, Beowulf, Divine Comedy, Faust, Walden, All Quiet on the Western Front, The Gulag Archipelago*, and many other outstanding works.

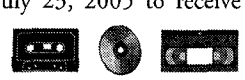
This course does not analyze the books in detail. Instead, Professor Fears takes the underlying idea of each great work and shows how these ideas can be put to use in a moral and ethical life. From the *Aeneid* and the Book of Job to *Othello* and *1984*, the selections range in time from the 3rd millennium B.C. to the 20th century, and in locale from Mesopotamia and China to Europe and America.

What is a great book? Profound themes, noble language, and universality are fundamental elements in a great book. But most important is the ability of such a book to speak to you as an individual and to influence your life and the ideals by which you live.

In Lecture 1, Professor Fears chooses as his first example Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Letters and Papers from Prison.* Bonhoeffer was an anti-Nazi German theologian who chose a life of fighting the evil of totalitarianism over comfort and safety. In prison waiting to be executed, he read Plutarch, the Bible, and Plato. Bonhoeffer realized that such works could speak in a different voice at different times of life, in times of triumph or times of trial. His intellectual and spiritual journey provides a sterling example of an individual shaped by the lessons of the great books.

About Our Sale Price Policy

Why is the sale price for this course so much lower than its standard price? Every course we make goes on sale at least once a year. Producing large quantities of only the sale courses keeps costs down and allows us to pass the savings on to you. This approach also enables us to fill your order immediately: 99% of all orders placed by 2:00 p.m. eastern time ship that same day. Order before July 23, 2005 to receive these savings.



In later lectures you'll study *Gilgamesh* to see how a search for eternal life and an understanding of why we must die teaches us the greater importance of how we should live.

In the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, you'll see how words written as a means of self-education can become an enduring guidepost on the path to wisdom.

In comparing the funeral orations given by Pericles in Athens and Lincoln at Gettysburg, you'll experience two of the most profound statements ever made about the necessity for just wars.

In works by Confucius, Gandhi, Cicero, Gibbon, Churchill, and many others, you will find truly worthy guides to help you lead a fruitful, ethical, and examined life.

About Your Professor

Professor J. Rufus Fears is David Ross Boyd Professor of Classics at the University of Oklahoma, where he holds the G.T. and Libby Blankenship Chair in the History of Liberty. He earned his Ph.D. from Harvard University. A 21-time award winner for outstanding teaching, he was Indiana University's first-ever Distinguished Faculty Research Lecturer. He has written four books and more than 100 articles and reviews.

About The Teaching Company

We review hundreds of top-rated professors from America's best colleges and universities each year. From this extraordinary group, we choose only those rated highest by panels of our customers. Fewer than 10% of these world-class scholar-teachers are selected to make The Great Courses. We've been doing this since 1990, producing more than 2,000 hours of material in modern and ancient history, philosophy, literature, fine arts, the sciences, and mathematics for intelligent, engaged, adult lifelong learners. If a course is ever less than completely satisfying, you may exchange it for another or we will refund your money promptly.

Lecture Titles

Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers From Prison* ... Homer, *Iliad* ... Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations* ... *Bhagavad Gita* ... Book of Exodus ... Gospel of Mark ... Koran ... *Gilgamesh* ... *Beowulf* ... Book of Job ... Aeschylus, *Oresteia* ... Euripides, *Bacchae* ... Plato, *Phaedo* ... Dante, *The Divine Comedy* ... Shakespeare, *Othello, the Moor of Venice* ... Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* ... Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago* ... Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar* ... George Orwell, *1984* ... Vergil, *Aeneid* ... Pericles, *Oration*; Lincoln, *Gettysburg Address* ... Remarque, *All Quiet on the Western Front* ... Confucius, *The Analects* ... Machiavelli, *The Prince* ... Plato, *Republic* ... John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* ... Sir Thomas Malory, *Morte d'Arthur* ... Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*, Part 1 ... Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*, Part 2 ... Henry David Thoreau, *Walden* ... Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* ... Lord Acton, *The History of Freedom* ... Cicero, *On Moral Duties* (*De Officiis*) ... Gandhi, *An Autobiography* ... Churchill, *My Early Life*; *Painting as a Pastime*; *WWII* ... Lessons from the Great Books

THE TEACHING COMPANY®
The Joy of Lifelong Learning Every Day™
GREAT PROFESSORS, GREAT COURSES, GREAT VALUE GUARANTEED.™

SAVE UP TO $275!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL JULY 23, 2005

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412)
Fax: 703-378-3819

Special offer is available online at
www.TEACH12.com/1ntn

The Great Courses®
THE TEACHING COMPANY®
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232

Priority Code 18926

Please send me **Books That Have Made History: Books That Can Change Your Life**, which consists of 36 half-hour lectures, with complete lecture outlines.

- ☐ **DVD $99.95** (std. price $374.95) **SAVE $275!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Videotape $79.95** (std. price $299.95) **SAVE $220!** plus $15 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audio CD $69.95** (std. price $269.95) **SAVE $200!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Audiotape $49.95** (std. price $199.95) **SAVE $150!** plus $10 shipping, handling, and lifetime satisfaction guarantee.
- ☐ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

* Non-U.S. Orders: Additional shipping charges apply. Call or visit the FAQ page at our website for details.
**Virginia residents please add 5% sales tax.

Charge my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover ☐ American Express

ACCOUNT NUMBER _____ EXP. DATE _____

SIGNATURE _____

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

PHONE *(If we have questions regarding your order—required for international orders)* _____

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Special offer is available online at www.TEACH12.com/1ntn

Offer Good Through: July 23, 2005

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

much as Roosevelt's policies did in the 1940s. We must become the champion of an international labor organization and a world labor movement that supports the establishment of unions in low-wage economies and fights Victorian-era working conditions in the world's factories. We must support public investment projects funded by international financial institutions to soak up excess labor and to give the unemployed in places like Egypt and Morocco a sense of economic opportunity. We need to put our weight behind the equivalent of New Deal programs like the TVA and the Civilian Conservation Corps and expand the efforts of specialized UN agencies like the World Health Organization to bring basic healthcare, education, housing and clean energy within the reach of billions of people and to relieve poverty in Africa and South Asia. We should also reorient the missions of the IMF and World Bank to support full employment and channel excess savings to public and social investment projects in the developing world. In short, we need to create institutions at the global level to do what the New Deal did for our national economy in the last century.

Our goal should be a New International Deal to build a global middle class and to eliminate global poverty. Rather than encourage emerging economies to develop through the export of manufactured goods and their component parts, we should champion what might be called middle-class-oriented development aimed at increasing domestic consumption—helping emerging economies to grow by expanding home ownership, investing in public infrastructure and creating more small and medium-size businesses, much as we did in the last century. This kind of middle-class development would have the beneficial effect of facilitating democratic reform in emerging economies while relieving the United States of the burden of serving as the locomotive of the world economy.

Competing Visions

Dedicating our foreign policy to a rapid rise of a global middle class and to a new international "community of power" would do far more for our security and future prosperity than a prolonged, openly declared war against Islamic jihadism. It would also help make us relevant again to the lives of millions of people—from Latin America to Africa to the Middle East to the Pacific—in a way that an agenda of fighting Islamic jihadism does not. That, together with a renewed respect for the international rule of law and a commitment to act as a good neighbor in fighting poverty and protecting the environment, would go a long way toward restoring America's standing in the world—not as a unipolar power but as a constructive leader of a diverse but increasingly interconnected world.

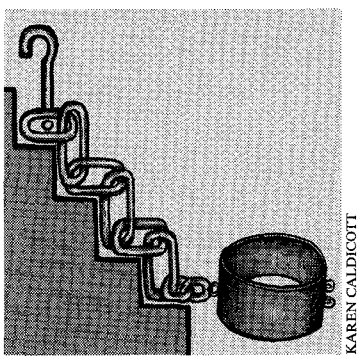
In the end, it comes down to a question of vision as well as of national interest. Many neoliberal Democrats would like the United States to be the second coming of imperial Britain, doing what Britain could not do in the 1920s and '30s. But as we are learning in Iraq, and as we did in Vietnam, the American people have no appetite for long, contested occupations of foreign lands. Nor do they have an appetite for a long, unending religious conflict in the Middle East. What they long for are not misguided heroic crusades but the respect of other nations and better lives for themselves and the many other people who share this planet. ■

THE LAW IS THERE: IF THE PUBLIC DEMANDS IT, HIGHER-UPS CAN BE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

Torture and Accountability

ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN

Although the terrible revelations of torture at Abu Ghraib hit the front pages in April 2004, no senior officials in the US military or the Bush Administration have yet been held accountable. The scandal has shamed and outraged many Americans, in addition to creating a greater threat of terrorism against the United States. But it has prompted no investigative commission (in the manner of the 9/11 commission) with a mandate to find the whole truth, or full-scale bipartisan Congressional hearings, as occurred during Watergate. Indeed, it is as though the Watergate investigations ended with the prosecution of only the burglars, which is what the cover-up was designed to insure, instead of reaching into the highest levels of government, which is what ultimately happened.



KAREN CALDICOTT

In just the latest sign of the current Administration's nose-thumbing at accountability for higher-ups, Lieut. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez, the commander in Iraq when the Abu Ghraib abuses occurred, is reportedly under consideration for promotion.

Nonetheless, higher-ups can be held to account. Difficult as it may be to achieve, our institutions of government can be pressured to do the right thing. If the public and the media insist on thorough investigations and appropriate punishments for those implicated—all the way up the chain of command—they can prevail.

Several episodes from recent history illustrate how public opposition can change even the most entrenched government policy. Neither President Johnson nor President Nixon wanted

Attorney Elizabeth Holtzman served four terms in Congress, where she played a key role in House impeachment proceedings against President Richard Nixon. This article will appear in the forthcoming book In The Name of Democracy: American War Crimes in Iraq and Beyond *(Metropolitan), edited by Jeremy Brecher, Jill Cutler and Brendan Smith.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to withdraw from Vietnam, but growing public anger forced Congress, finally, to end the war. Likewise, in Watergate, Congress did not commence impeachment proceedings to hold President Nixon accountable for his abuse of power until the American people demanded action after the Saturday Night Massacre (in which Nixon ordered the firing of Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox to keep him from getting incriminating personal tape recordings). And, of course, the most important example from the past fifty years is the civil rights movement, which brought down the system of segregation in the South through sustained and peaceful public protest.

The War Crimes Act of 1996

No less a figure than Alberto Gonzales, then–White House counsel to George W. Bush and now US Attorney General, expressed deep concern about possible prosecutions under the War Crimes Act of 1996 for American mistreatment of Afghanistan war detainees.

This relatively obscure statute makes it a federal crime to violate certain provisions of the Geneva Conventions. The Act punishes any US national, military or civilian, who commits a "grave breach" of the Geneva Conventions. A grave breach, as defined by the Geneva Conventions, includes the deliberate "killing, torture or inhuman treatment" of detainees. Violations of the War Crimes Act that result in death carry the death penalty.

In a memo to President Bush, dated January 25, 2002, Gonzales urged that the United States opt out of the Geneva Conventions for the Afghanistan war—despite Secretary of State Colin Powell's objections. One of the two reasons he gave the President was that opting out "substantially reduces the likelihood of prosecution under the War Crimes Act."

Then-Attorney General Ashcroft sent a memo to President Bush making a similar argument. Opting out of the Geneva Conventions, Ashcroft argued, would give the "highest assurance" that there would be no prosecutions under the War Crimes Act of "military officers, intelligence officials, or law enforcement officials" for their misconduct during interrogations or detention.

Plainly, both Gonzales and Ashcroft were so concerned about preventing War Crimes Act prosecutions that they were willing to assume the risks—including the likelihood of severe international criticism as well as the exposure of our own captured troops to mistreatment—of opting out of Geneva.

The specter of prosecution was particularly worrisome because the Conventions use broad terminology. Noting that violations may consist of "outrages upon personal dignity" and "inhuman treatment," Gonzales advised the President in his memo that it would be "difficult to predict with confidence" which actions would violate the War Crimes Act and which would not.

Moreover, Gonzales opined, it was "difficult to predict the motives of prosecutors and independent counsels" acting in the future. (The "future" could be a very long time indeed, because there would be no statute of limitations on War Crimes Act prosecutions in cases where the victim died.)

Although Gonzales did not spell out which government officials he was concerned about, his reference to "independent counsels" suggests that he had in mind people at the highest levels. In the past, independent counsels—or special prosecutors, as they were previously called—had been appointed to investigate both President Nixon and President Clinton. The independent counsel statute (now expired) applied to Presidents and top officials.

President Bush followed the advice given by his White House counsel and his Attorney General with some slight modifications. It remains to be seen whether the gimmick of "opting out" of the Geneva Conventions for the war in Afghanistan will provide Gonzales's promised "solid defense" to any War Crimes Act prosecution.

Prosecuting US Misconduct in Iraq

Whatever its applicability to Afghanistan, the War Crimes Act is unquestionably applicable to detainee abuse in Iraq. Under Gonzales's logic, the War Crimes Act applies whenever Geneva applies. And as President Bush repeatedly stated, the Geneva Conventions apply to Iraq (although he has since claimed that foreign fighters captured in Iraq are not covered by Geneva). Thus, US personnel found guilty of serious mistreatment of detainees in Iraq face severe criminal penalties under the Act.

Prosecutions under the War Crimes Act for violations in Iraq do not need to challenge the legality of "opting out of the Geneva Conventions," as would be the case for Afghanistan war detainees. Nor do they need to contend with the Administration's convoluted definition of torture. War Crimes Act violations in Iraq can consist of inhuman treatment alone—whether torture took place or not.

Although the term "inhuman treatment" is not defined in the War Crimes Act or in the Geneva Conventions, there is little doubt that US personnel subjected Iraqi detainees to inhuman treatment by, for example, forcing hooded prisoners into stressful positions for lengthy periods of time, using dogs to bite and intimidate naked prisoners, compelling prisoners to engage in or simulate sexual acts, dragging naked prisoners on the ground with a leash around the neck, beating prisoners, and on and on.

Even beyond the notorious Abu Ghraib photos, there is a huge body of evidence documenting inhuman treatment. Maj. Gen. Antonio Taguba's inquiry found "sadistic, blatant and wanton criminal abuses." The report issued by a panel headed by former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger found "widespread" abuses. And the International Red Cross repeatedly protested the treatment of Iraqi prisoners.

The key question is not whether detainees in Iraq were subjected to inhuman treatment in violation of the War Crimes Act, but how high up the responsibility goes for those abhorrent acts. Under well-established principles of international law, officials in the chain of command who order inhuman treatment or who, knowing about it, fail to stop it are responsible. The "chain of command" doctrine is undoubtedly applicable to War Crimes Act prosecutions. But even if it weren't, higher-ups could be held responsible under the principles of conspiracy or aiding and abetting the crime under normal federal criminal law. This was surely the reason that Gonzales wanted to block future prosecutions of higher-ups by "prosecutors and independent counsels."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President Bush likes to blame a few "bad apples" for the serious mistreatment of Iraqi prisoners. But the problem is not limited to a few bad apples at the bottom of the barrel. We know that General Sanchez, then the top military officer in Iraq, ordered harsh interrogation techniques, at least for a brief period, before he revised the protocols. Defense Secretary Rumsfeld similarly issued orders permitting coercive interrogation, which were modified after protest by military lawyers. Did Rumsfeld and General Sanchez violate the War Crimes Act?

And what about President Bush himself? At a Congressional hearing shortly after the Abu Ghraib story broke, then-Attorney General Ashcroft testified that Bush never ordered the torture of Afghanistan and Iraq war detainees. But he refused to describe what the President did order, and all presidential directives on interrogations have not been made public.

In making his claim, the Attorney General may have been using the now discarded Orwellian definition of torture that the Justice Department devised specifically to avoid prosecutions under the US statute making it a crime to engage in torture (Sections 2340-2340A of the US Code, Title 18). Under Justice's definition, torture was not torture if the torturer was simply seeking information from the victim. Only gratuitous or purely sadistic torture qualified as torture. Moreover, to meet the definition, the pain caused had to be the equivalent of losing an organ or bodily function, or dying. It is very unlikely that the President or any high-level US official ordered torture for torture's sake, so Ashcroft's testimony to that extent may have been perfectly truthful. (That definition of torture was formally abandoned just before Gonzales's confirmation hearings.)

Moreover, there are tantalizing suggestions that Bush may have condoned or possibly authorized coercive interrogation techniques. For example, a May 22, 2004, FBI agent's memo about interrogations in Iraq, made public under the Freedom of Information Act, repeatedly cites an executive order issued by President Bush that authorized "sleep deprivation, stress positions, loud music, etc." (The administration denied this and the FBI refused to comment.)

In addition, President Bush's oft-quoted executive order of February 7, 2002, calling for detainees to be treated humanely, by its very terms does not apply to the CIA. That leaves open the question of what standards of interrogation the President laid out for the CIA and whether his failure to impose the requirement of humane treatment on the CIA signaled permission for that agency to engage in torture or inhuman treatment of detainees. The possibility that the CIA engaged in torture or inhuman treatment of detainees was given greater substance when CIA director Porter Goss testified in March that the CIA was not at that time using torture against detainees but refused to testify about past practices except behind closed doors. (It was also given further substance by reports that some CIA personnel were dismayed at the Administration's change in the torture definition, since they may be exposed as a result to liability under the anti-torture act.)

To resolve the question, then, of the responsibility of higher-ups for torture and inhuman treatment in Iraq, there needs to be full disclosure of directives issued by President Bush and other top officials on the treatment of detainees and a full inquiry into what they knew about the serious mistreatment of detainees and what steps they took to stop the mistreatment once it came to their attention.

If the President did authorize inhuman treatment—or, knowing that such treatment was ongoing, failed to stop it—is he punishable under the War Crimes Act? White House counsel Gonzales did not specify any limits on who might be subject to prosecution in his January 2002 memo. And Attorney General Ashcroft in his Congressional testimony specifically denied that President Bush committed any crime. In making that statement, the Attorney General may have been relying on a doctrine advanced in the Justice Department's August 2002 torture definition memorandum, which argued that, under the Constitution, a Commander in Chief's capacity to conduct a military campaign cannot be constrained by US laws. In other words, as a law unto himself, the President cannot violate laws, because he doesn't have to obey them. During his confirmation hearings to replace Attorney General Ashcroft, Gonzales was repeatedly asked to repudiate the position that a President has the right as Commander in Chief to break US laws, but refused to do so.

The claim that a President, whether Bush or any other President, is above the law strikes at the very heart of our democracy. It was the centerpiece of President Nixon's defense in Watergate—one that was rejected by the courts and lay at the foundation of the articles of impeachment voted against him by the House Judiciary Committee.

Of course, President Nixon's national security claims in Watergate were entirely bogus. Breaking into a psychiatrist's office and wiretapping journalists and White House staff phones had nothing to do with national security; they were blatantly political efforts to get damaging information on electoral opponents. And getting the CIA to stop the FBI's investigation into campaign funds was purely an obstruction of justice.

Courts have not directly ruled on a President's powers to violate the US anti-torture statute or the War Crimes Act. But they have found limits on a President's claims of unchecked power as Commander in Chief. The Supreme Court rejected President Truman's contention that as Commander in Chief he could seize steel mills during the Korean War to keep them running. Similarly, the Supreme Court repudiated President Bush's claim that as Commander in Chief he had unlimited powers to incarcerate prisoners at Guantánamo. As Justice Sandra Day O'Connor stated, "A state of war is not a blank check for the President."

Holding Senior Officials Accountable

It is never easy to hold powerful officials accountable for their misdeeds, but it is still important to try to do so. Even if no higher-ups turn out to be responsible under civil or criminal laws for the terrible abuses at Abu Ghraib and elsewhere, the mere fact of a thorough and serious inquiry could go a long way toward preventing similar abuses in the future.

If Watergate is any example, accountability at the highest level requires a number of factors: public exposure of the misdeeds; public awareness that the misdeeds violate the law; independent and fearless public officials, prosecutors and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

judges; and of course a crusading press.

The press plays a key role in educating public officials and the American people about a problem, and focusing attention on it. In Watergate, it was the work of the press, and in particular the persistence of two enterprising young *Washington Post* reporters, Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, that laid the groundwork for Nixon's resignation.

While the press did a generally excellent job in breaking the Abu Ghraib story and in educating the American public about the brutal mistreatment of prisoners there and elsewhere, it has largely neglected the question of high-level accountability for those acts.

Consider the coverage of Gonzales's January 2002 memo to President Bush. The media gave substantial play to his recommendation that the United States opt out of the Geneva Conventions. Most reporters focused on his first reason for doing so—that certain provisions of the Conventions were "quaint" and inapplicable to the "new" paradigm of twenty-first-century terrorism. But the press did not pay nearly as much attention to Gonzales's second reason—that opting out would reduce the possibility of War Crimes Act prosecutions. As a result, the American people remained largely in the dark about the War Crimes Act. They generally did not know that the act made it a federal crime to engage in inhuman treatment of detainees, or that the act applied to Iraq. They did not know that by recommending that America opt out of Geneva, the White House counsel—and the President, apparently, through his approval—was trying to create a legal loophole that would permit US government personnel to engage in possible criminal behavior with impunity. It was entirely predictable, under these circumstances, that there would be no public outcry about violations of the War Crimes Act or a broad demand for accountability of higher-ups under it.

It is also not surprising, in this atmosphere, that little attention was paid to the War Crimes Act during Gonzales's Attorney General confirmation hearings. It would have been easy to ask Gonzales what actions by US officials gave rise to his concern about possible prosecution under the War Crimes Act. It would also have been easy to ask what US officials he was worried could be prosecuted. But for some reason, the press never did, and the Senate showed a lack of curiosity about the subject.

Questions about the War Crimes Act would have been particularly apt because, as Attorney General, Gonzales might have to prosecute violations of the act—and his role in trying to shield government officials from prosecution under the act could raise issues of conflict of interest.

If this issue were seriously covered by the press, and the public began to express concern about it, Congress would be much more likely to initiate efforts to investigate and hold higher-ups accountable.

Options for Congressional Action

What actions could Congress take? Given that the President's party controls both the House and the Senate, it is unlikely that any serious action will be taken by either Congressional body to uncover wrongdoing by higher-ups in the mistreatment of US detainees. Nonetheless, it is important to understand what needs to be done.

The best outcome would be to have full Congressional hearings (such as the Senate Watergate hearings) or a fully independent inquiry conducted by a commission such as the 9/11 panel. It is significant that some Republicans and Democrats are finally calling for the creation of such a commission. That commission should have the power to seek all documents (including presidential documents) respecting the treatment of detainees, and to question higher-ups, including Secretary Rumsfeld and the President himself. The objective of the inquiry would be to see who, including those at the highest level of our government, directed the inhuman treatment or torture of detainees, and what those officials did, if anything, when they learned of the mistreatment. If the inquiry finds that the President or Secretary of Defense (or other high-level government officials) directed or knowingly condoned the inhuman treatment or torture of US detainees, then a special prosecutor should be appointed, with guarantees of full independence, to determine whether there is any criminal liability under the War Crimes Act (and the US anti-torture statute) or any other applicable criminal statutes. Unlike Kenneth Starr, the special prosecutor should have no political ties to the Administration or its political opponents.

Short of that result, there is still much that public officials can do. Members of Congress and the Senate could write and ask Gonzales to identify which persons he was trying to protect from prosecution—and what acts they engaged in or were expected to engage in—as referred to in his January 25, 2002, memo to President Bush. They could ask the White House for all orders and directives issued by the President with respect to the treatment of detainees, at Abu Ghraib or elsewhere. They could request all documents that would have alerted the President and other top officials to the conditions of interrogation and documents that would have reflected oral briefings of top officials about these conditions. Legislation could be introduced requiring the disclosure of this information, if it is not otherwise forthcoming.

Even if the President's party blocks hearings, refuses to issue subpoenas for documents showing the involvement of higher-ups in the inhuman treatment of US detainees or stymies other legislative approaches to get at the full truth, members of Congress can still act on the problem. They can still raise public awareness of the need for full disclosure and increase public pressure for action by introducing bills, holding press conferences, writing letters to appropriate officials, asking questions at hearings and so forth.

In addition, there are other legislative steps to consider that cannot be blocked by a partisan majority. Take, for example, an obscure parliamentary device that allows members of the House of Representatives to pose factual questions to the President or members of his Cabinet. The resolution is privileged, which means that any Congressperson introducing it may call it up for a vote on the House floor at any time—something that is not normally the case for other resolutions and bills—and control half of the one hour of debate permitted. (A Resolution of Inquiry was used to force the House inquiry into President Ford's pardon of Richard Nixon.) While the resolution seeking the information may be defeated or referred to a committee (and thus consigned to oblivion), the debate on the floor of the House could generate substantial publicity and could create

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

additional momentum for investigation or disclosure.

If General Sanchez is nominated for a promotion, since that requires Senate confirmation, the Senate could seek all documents and other information about his responsibility for the horrors of Abu Ghraib as well as about the directives he received from his superiors on abusive interrogations. If Attorney General Alberto Gonzales appears at any future hearings, such as hearings involving funding for the Justice Department, or if he is nominated for any other position in government, questions about criminal liability under the War Crimes Act could be raised at that time. Similarly, if there is a vacancy in the position of Attorney General and someone else is appointed, that person, as a condition of confirmation, could be asked to conduct a full investigation into criminal liability under the War Crimes Act.

In this respect, Watergate provides some guidance. Special Prosecutor Archibald Cox was appointed only because of a series of happenstances. Prior to his appointment, the possibility had surfaced that higher-ups might be involved in the Watergate break-in and cover-up. As luck would have it, there was a vacancy in the position of Attorney General. Both Attorneys General John Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst had resigned, the latter because of his connection to the Watergate scandal. When President Nixon nominated Elliot Richardson to fill the vacancy, the Senate refused to confirm him unless he agreed to appoint a special prosecutor with full independence. Richardson complied. In that case, Senators knew there had to be a thorough criminal investigation into Watergate and used the leverage of the Senate confirmation hearings to get their way. That is a far cry from what occurred during the process of confirming Gonzales for Attorney General—even making allowances for the fact that the President's party controlled the Senate.

Still, calls for the Attorney General to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate possible criminal liability under the war crimes and anti-torture laws can be issued, and members of Congress and the Senate can press for it.

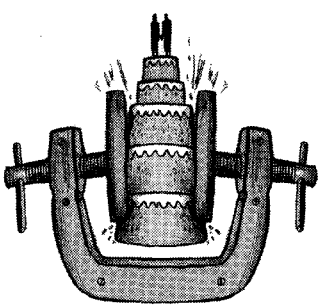
In the final analysis, there is no sure way to compel the government to investigate itself or to hold high-level government officials accountable under applicable criminal statutes. But if the public does not seek to have it happen, it will not happen. Those in the public who care deeply about the rule of law and government accountability must keep this issue alive. Failure to investigate wrongdoing in high places and tolerating misconduct or criminality can have only the most corroding impact on our democracy and the rule of law that sustains us. ■

FOR THE RIGHT, THIS CAMPAIGN IS NOT JUST ABOUT PREVENTING SAME-SEX WEDDINGS.

Beyond Gay Marriage

LISA DUGGAN AND RICHARD KIM

In the wake of the 2004 election, the right moved swiftly and decisively to capitalize on its "values mandate." As many as fourteen gay marriage amendments could take effect in the next year or so. But bans on gay marriage may be only the tip of "the great iceberg," as Robert Knight of Concerned Women of America put it after the election. Parlaying anti–gay marriage campaign victories into a larger "pro-marriage" agenda, conservatives have targeted domestic partnership and reciprocal beneficiary recognition through broadly worded state ballot initiatives, launched a grassroots campaign for covenant marriages, imposed new restrictions on sex education, expanded federally funded marriage-promotion initiatives and introduced state legislation to restrict divorce. Such initiatives appeal simultaneously to fiscal conservatives who see promoting marriage as a way to reduce state dependency, anti-gay voters who quail at the notion of same-sex unions, right-wing Christians who seek to enforce biblically determined family law and the mass of voters anxious about the instability of marriage. Conservatives have found a way to finesse their differences through a comprehensive and reactionary program that aims to enshrine the conjugal family as the sole legally recognized household structure.



KAREN CALDICOTT

Democrats and progressives, by contrast, remain perplexed and divided, publicly bickering over the role gay marriage played in the party's defeats. Senator Dianne Feinstein chided San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom and the Massachusetts Supreme Court for moving "too much, too fast, too soon" on the issue and thus energizing Bush's conservative base. In rebuttal, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) pointed out that anti–gay marriage initiatives—successful in all states in which they were introduced—had negligible impact on Bush's share of the vote, particularly in swing states like Ohio, Michigan and Oregon. Nonetheless, many gay leaders expressed deep anguish at what they felt was a surprisingly strident outpouring of homophobia at the polls and pledged to renew neglected grassroots efforts. Meanwhile, the gay movement has continued to pursue its primarily litigation-based strategy on gay marriage, winning some significant if preliminary court rulings in New York, California, Washington and Nebraska, as well as scoring a legislative win for civil unions in Connecticut.

Lisa Duggan, author of The Twilight of Equality? Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics and the Attack on Democracy *(Beacon), teaches in the American studies program and the Center for the Study of Gender and Sexuality at New York University. Richard Kim, The Nation Institute's intern program director, is a PhD candidate in American studies at New York University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We believe that by engaging the marriage debate only in terms of "gay rights," both the gay movement and the Democratic Party have put themselves in a compromised and losing position. Faced with an aggressive marriage movement that has skillfully stoked and manipulated anxiety about same-sex marriage, progressive Democrats and gays must come together to reframe the issue as part of a larger campaign for household democracy and security, a campaign that responds to the diverse ways Americans actually structure their intimate lives.

The brutal central fact: Ballot initiatives banning same-sex marriage passed easily in all eleven states in which they were introduced this past election, as well as in Louisiana and Missouri earlier in the year. In all, seventeen states have amended their constitutions to ban gay marriage; ten of these extend beyond marriage to eliminate other forms of partnership recognition, including civil unions and domestic partnerships. These initiatives go beyond blocking future progress for "marriage equality." Their attack on domestic partnerships and other civil contracts rolls back decades of success in winning recognition and benefits for couples of all gender combinations who could not or would not marry.

The vexing, volatile issue in this election may not have been equal rights for gay people so much as household security.

Michigan's Proposition 2 is typical of these broad state constitutional amendments. It mandates that "the union of one man and one woman in marriage shall be the only agreement recognized as a marriage or similar union for any purpose." Although Christian-right activists and Republican politicians insisted during the campaign that the amendment's vague language would only "defend marriage" and not eliminate benefits for unmarried couples, the Republican state attorney general soon announced that Prop 2 "prohibits state and local governmental entities from conferring benefits on their employees on the basis of a 'domestic partnership.'" The governor's office canceled plans to extend benefits to employees in same-sex relationships, and several public employers, from the University of Michigan to the city of Kalamazoo, will be forced, by the end of the year, to retract benefits already given to same-sex couples. Conservatives have even been pushing to have Prop 2 interpreted to bar private businesses that contract with the state from providing benefits to unmarried couples.

Although propositions like Michigan's are aimed at same-sex couples, they will impact all unmarried couples. Many of them could eliminate domestic partnership and reciprocal beneficiary statuses at state, and possibly private, institutions; revoke out-of-state and second-parent adoptions for gays and straights alike; invalidate next-of-kin arrangements, including those involving life-and-death medical decisions; and imperil joint home-ownership arrangements between unmarried people.

Is this exceedingly narrow vision of kinship and household arrangements what voters endorsed this November? Not if we take their actual living patterns as an indication of their preferences. Marriage is on the decline: Marital reproductive households are no longer in the majority, and most Americans spend half their adult lives outside marriage. The average age at which people marry has steadily risen as young people live together longer; the number of cohabitating couples rose 72 percent between 1990 and 2000. More people live alone, and many live in multigenerational, nonmarital households; 41 percent of these unmarried households include children. Increasing numbers of elderly, particularly women, live in companionate nonconjugal unions (think *Golden Girls*). Household diversity is a fact of American life rooted not just in the "cultural" revolutions of feminism and gay liberation but in long-term changes in aging, housing, childcare and labor.

At the same time, there is increasing support for basic gay human rights. Large majorities favor employment and housing rights for gay people (89 percent in the latest Gallup poll), and a clear majority of Americans support some form of partnership recognition for same-sex couples—either marriage or civil unions (60 percent at the time of the election). In Cincinnati and Topeka, home to infamous homophobe Rev. Fred Phelps, voters defeated anti-gay ordinances, even as both Ohio and Kansas voted in favor of state-level amendments banning same-sex marriage. These victories demonstrate that decently funded and well-coordinated grassroots campaigns that reach out to other constituencies in the name of fairness and equality can secure gay rights even deep within red state territory. They also put into stark relief that gay *marriage* is the single issue trending against increasing support for gay rights. Certainly, outside the electoral arena, the entertainment industry presents lesbian and gay characters and issues as a ho-hum element of everyday life. How does this increasingly widespread acceptance of sexual diversity square with the sensational, overwhelming defeats of this election?

The answer may be that homophobia was not the sole or even central element behind voter support for the same-sex-marriage bans. The vexing, volatile issue may not have been equal rights for gay people so much as household security—the *other* security issue in this election—represented symbolically by the institution of marriage.

The net effect of the neoliberal economic policies imposed in recent decades has been to push economic and social responsibility away from employers and government and onto private households. The stress on households is intensifying, as people try to do more with less. Care for children and the elderly, for the ill and disabled, has been shifted toward unpaid women at home or to low-paid, privately employed female domestic workers. In this context, household stability becomes a life-and-death issue. On whom do we depend when we can't take care of ourselves? If Social Security shrinks or disappears and your company sheds your pension fund, what happens to you when you can no longer work? In more and more cases, the sole remaining resource is the cooperative, mutually supporting household or kinship network.

But if marriage is the symbolic and legal anchor for households and kinship networks, and marriage is increasingly unstable, how reliable will that source of support be? In the context of these questions, the big flap over marriage in this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

election begins to make a different kind of sense. If voters are not particularly homophobic, but they are overwhelmingly insecure, then the call to "preserve" marriage might have produced a referendum vote on the desire for household security, with the damage to gay equality caught up in its wake.

Indeed, the campaigns against same-sex marriage spewed rhetoric about the importance of "preserving" marriage, often steering away from overtly anti-gay fearmongering. For example, the Alliance for Marriage's Matt Daniels, who spearheaded the push for the Federal Marriage Amendment, has insisted that the marriage agenda is "not organized around homosexuality. Its mission is to see that more kids are raised in a home with a married mother and father." Daniels contends that "no one in the alliance believes that saving the legal status of marriage as between man and woman will alone be sufficient to stem the tide of family disintegration," but he believes that "if we lose that legal status, we lose the policy tool we need to pursue our broader agenda." What constitutes that "broader agenda" was made clear by another marriage movement leader, Bryce Christensen of Southern Utah University, when he said, "If those initiatives are part of a broader effort to reaffirm lifetime fidelity in marriage, they're worthwhile. If they're isolated—if we don't address cohabitation and casual divorce and deliberate childlessness—then I think they're futile and will be brushed aside."

The priority given to marriage equality by gay and lesbian organizations gave the right an opening to foment a backlash.

Capitalizing on their clean sweep of November's marriage amendments, pro-marriage forces have taken Daniels and Christensen to heart. Pointing to high divorce rates in red states, social conservatives have revitalized efforts to repeal no-fault divorce and enact covenant marriage laws in Georgia, Arkansas and other Southern states. While firmly rooted in fundamentalist Christianity, pro-marriage leaders also court more secular voters. For example, Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee—who recently remarried his wife in a covenant marriage ceremony before a stadium packed with thousands—touts the financial gains to the state that result from pro-marriage policies. "If you start adding up the various costs—the costs of child-support enforcement, additional costs in human services, how many kids will go onto food stamps—it all adds up," he said.

From a policy perspective, then, the anti–gay marriage initiatives are important to conservatives for a range of reasons beyond insisting upon the heterosexuality of marriage. Aiming to roll back the decades-long diversification of households, conservatives see the marriage amendments as the first step in encoding the conjugal, procreative and, for some, biblically ordained married family as the sole state-sanctioned household. Furthermore, by limiting recognition and benefits to a declining number of married families, marriage advocates are able to appeal to fiscal conservatives who might otherwise be wary of such moral legislation.

This is not to say the pro-marriage movement didn't exploit the Massachusetts Supreme Court decision and the reaction it provoked among anti-gay voters and social conservatives resentful of the so-called "liberal elite." Focusing on marriage-minded gays and lesbians and the "activist judges" who were "legislating from the bench," conservatives found an easy proxy for the decline in marriage. The "threat" of gay marriage enabled them to portray marital households as under assault (from homosexuals and judges) without addressing any of the economic factors that put marital households under stress and without directly attacking any of the related legal and social transformations (no-fault divorce, new reproductive technologies, women in the workplace) that most Americans would be reluctant to reject.

So it seems that the priority given to marriage equality by the gay movement gave the right an opening to foment a backlash that centered on gay marriage (and all that it has been made to stand for). But before gay marriage itself emerged as a viable goal, the gay movement pioneered state and local campaigns for distributing benefits through domestic partnerships and reciprocal beneficiary statuses. These statuses neither secured entitlements like Social Security nor were they portable as people switched jobs or moved, but they nonetheless marked real progress in recognizing household diversity. While some of these clauses applied to straight couples and nonconjugal households (siblings, unmarried coparents, long-term housemates and the like), they were largely driven by the gay movement. Now, however, they are seen by many in that movement as second-class substitutes for marriage equality. What we're left with is an erratic and unevenly distributed patchwork of household statuses tied all too closely to the issue of gay marriage, with no major social movement—not labor, senior citizens, students or gays—committed to household diversity as a primary political goal.

In order to counter conservative Republican strategy, one that promises to wreak havoc in elections to come, gay activists and progressives will have to come together to reframe the marriage debate. For gay activists, and indeed for all progressive activists, it would be far more productive to stress support for household diversity—both cultural and economic support, recognition and resources for a changing population as it actually lives—than to focus solely on gay marriage. By treating marriage as one form of household recognition among others, progressives can generate a broad vision of social justice that resonates on many fronts. If we connect this democratization of household recognition with advocacy of material support for caretaking, as well as for good jobs and adequate benefits (like universal healthcare), then what we all have in common will come into sharper relief.

Ironically, by overreaching with the state marriage amendments, the right wing may have provided the gay movement and progressives with an ideal starting point for just such a campaign. By showing the sheer number of households affected by such broad constitutional amendments, progressives can demonstrate just how narrow and extremist the pro-marriage agenda is. Defense of marriage amendments not only enshrine discrimination against gays and lesbians in state constitutions; they also severely curtail the freedom of intimate association exercised by Americans in nonmarried households—gay and straight

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

alike. Indeed, a recent decision by a federal judge striking down Nebraska's defense of marriage amendment (the first ever at the federal level) noted that Nebraska's ban violated the rights of same-sex couples, foster parents, adopted children and people in a host of other living arrangements. The ban "imposes significant burdens on both...expressive and intimate associational rights" and "potentially prohibits or at least inhibits people, regardless of sexual preference, from entering into numerous relationships or living arrangements that could be interpreted as a same-sex relationship 'similar to' marriage," wrote Judge Joseph Bataillon.

A campaign to expand and reform family law to account for the diversity of American households could blunt the right's moral panic about marriage and shift the entire debate in a more useful direction. Support for such a campaign might be drawn from a variety of constituencies: young adults, who are the least likely to be married as well as the least likely to have health insurance; single parents, many of whom now choose to live together in order to share housing, childcare and other costs; the elderly, who often live together after the death of a spouse or end of a marriage; caregivers, whose ability to attend to the elderly, sick and disabled is often restricted by regulations that privilege marriage. Major corporations (almost half of which extend benefits to unmarried couples) as well as labor unions have opposed the marriage amendments on the grounds that domestic partnership agreements are necessary to provide for a diverse workforce. The nonpartisan American Law Institute has argued for blurring and eliminating distinctions between married and unmarried couples in order to simplify the laws that govern marriage, divorce and cohabitation.

The gay movement might also do well to broaden its agenda to include Social Security preservation, reform and expansion, along with universal healthcare. According to Amber Hollibaugh, senior strategist for the NGLTF, most gay people age alone (perhaps as many as 80 percent), rather than in conjugal couples. The needs of this population are better addressed through diversified forms of household recognition, guaranteed healthcare and retirement security than through access to one-size-fits-all marriage. More broadly, progressives must lay out a vision of expanded social justice, rather than simply battle conservative initiatives that attack our limited welfare state. For instance, rather than merely criticize Republican plans to privatize Social Security, progressives might advocate reform and expansion of collective retirement provisions to include a wider range of households.

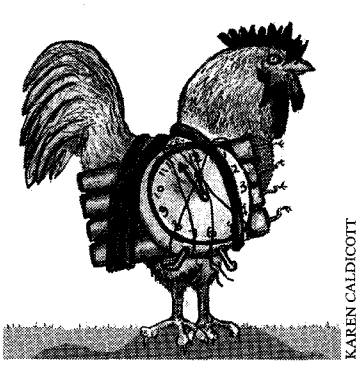
Meanwhile, a quiet social revolution is proceeding apace, as unmarried households of all ages and backgrounds work to forge collective economic and social rights. By drafting novel cohabitation contracts, pressing for state and local legislation, challenging discriminatory laws and urging employers to expand benefits, they have begun to create the kind of household recognitions that befit a genuinely pluralistic society. They have done so without an organized political infrastructure and without any major political party championing their rights. Gays and lesbians were once at the vanguard of this loosely constituted movement. It's time they rejoin it. And it's time for progressives to step forward and champion household diversity by reframing and recapturing the election's other security issue. ■

HHS FIDDLED WITH BIOTERRORISM FANTASIES AMID RISING DANGER OF A PANDEMIC.

Avian Flu: A State of Unreadiness

MIKE DAVIS

Avian influenza is a viral asteroid on a collision course with humanity. Since the horrific autumn of 1918, when a novel influenza killed more than 2 percent of humanity in a few months, scientists have dreaded the reappearance of a wild flu strain totally new to the human immune system.



KAREN CALDICOTT

The flu subtype known as H5N1, which claimed its first victims in Hong Kong in 1997, is that nightmare come true. Now endemic in waterfowl and poultry throughout East Asia, it is the most lethal strain of influenza ever seen, killing chickens, people and even tigers with terrifying ease.

Although avian flu officially has taken fewer than 100 human lives so far (mainly farmers and their children in daily contact with poultry), most experts believe that H5N1 is on the verge of acquiring the new genes or amino acids that would enable it to travel at pandemic velocity across a densely urbanized world, with the potential, warns the World Health Organization, to cause 20 million deaths.

Since early spring, moreover, all the biological weather vanes have been pointing in the direction of imminent pandemic. In Vietnam the virus has suddenly increased its transmissibility, with several likely human-to-human cases. In China, where officials now admit that more than 1,000 migratory birds have died, there are unofficial Internet reports—strongly denied by Beijing—of 120 related human fatalities. In an unprecedented collaboration to sound the tocsin, *Nature* and *Foreign Affairs* have recently devoted special issues to the "plausible scenario" of a pandemic that kills millions and wrecks the global economy.

Mike Davis is the author of several books, including City of Quartz, Dead Cities *and* Under the Perfect Sun. *This article is adapted from his new book* The Monster at Our Door: The Global Threat of Avian Flu *(New Press), which will be published in September.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Governments have had ample warning, unlike the surprise of HIV/AIDS, that a new plague is coming. Indeed, Washington has had almost nine years to heed the advice of top influenza experts and mobilize the nation's resources to battle H5N1 in Asia and at home. The Bush Administration's failure to do so makes "homeland security" into a sick joke whose punch line may be a repetition of the 1918 catastrophe.

This past December 3, Secretary of Health and Human Services (HHS) Tommy Thompson held a press conference to announce his resignation. His tenure ended with a note of frankness rare in the Bush era. Unlike the previous seven Cabinet members purged in the President's postelection housecleaning, Thompson, according to the *New York Times*, "gave candid, unexpected answers to questions posed to him." Asked what worried him most, Thompson cited the threat of a human flu pandemic. "This is a really huge bomb that could adversely impact on the healthcare of the world," killing 30 million to 70 million people, he said.

Thompson allocated more funds for 'abstinence education' than to the development of an avian influenza vaccine.

The Secretary, of course, spoke with the authority of someone with access to the best medical intelligence in the world, but reporters were undoubtedly surprised that Thompson was so alarmed about a peril that his department, with its $543 billion annual budget—a quarter of the federal total—had done so little to address. In the 2005 fiscal year, for example, Thompson had allocated more funds to "abstinence education" than to the development of an avian influenza vaccine that might save millions of lives. This is but one example of the way that all Americans, but especially children, the elderly and the uninsured, have been placed in harm's way by the Bush regime's bizarre skewing of public-health priorities. On Thompson's watch, HHS and the Pentagon spent more than $12 billion to safeguard national security against largely hypothetical threats like smallpox and anthrax, even as they pursued a penny-pinching strategy to deal with the most dangerous and likely "bioterrorist": avian influenza. The Administration's lackadaisical response to the pandemic threat (despite Secretary Thompson's personal anxiety) is only the tip of the iceberg. Over the past generation, writes *Lancet* editor Richard Horton, "the U.S. public-health system has been slowly and quietly falling apart."

Under Democrats as well as Republicans, Washington has looked the other way as local health departments have lost funding and crucial hospital "surge capacity" has been eroded in the wake of the HMO revolution. The government has also refused to address the growing lack of new vaccines and antibiotics caused by the pharmaceutical industry's withdrawal from sectors it considers to be insufficiently profitable; moreover, revolutionary breakthroughs in vaccine design and manufacturing technology have languished because of lack of sponsorship by either the government or the drug industry.

In October 2000 the GAO scolded HHS for making so little progress in the development of an avian flu vaccine. It warned that the United States might have only a month (or less) of warning before a pandemic became widespread, and it accused HHS of failing to develop contingency plans to insure expanded vaccine-manufacturing capacity. It also pointed to a major contradiction in business-as-usual reliance on the private sector: "Because no market exists for vaccine after [flu season], manufacturers switch their capacity to other uses between about mid-August and December." At minimum, HHS needed to find some way to keep production lines running full time, all year long, as well as diversify the number of companies committed to vaccine production. In addition, the GAO chided HHS for dithering over whether to stockpile antivirals, even as top influenza experts were begging the government to procure as much oseltamivir (Tamiflu)—the most potent antiviral medicine for avian flu now available—as possible. Finally, the audit faulted HHS for poor coordination of the respective roles of the federal government, state agencies and private manufacturers. Almost eight years of "process," the GAO report implied, had failed to achieve a "plan" in any substantive or meaningful sense.

All the flaws in HHS's influenza program (particularly the lack of an antiviral stockpile and adequate vaccine-manufacturing capacity), were inherited by Thompson, the former governor of Wisconsin, described as a "a straight shooter" by Edward Kennedy. The Clinton Administration's handling of public-health issues had certainly been disappointing, but the incoming Bush Administration was frightening to everyone who had been fighting to prevent the total meltdown of urban public health. Then, in September 2001, a new dispensation suddenly arrived in the form of poisoned letters contaminated with "weaponized" anthrax. DNA sequencing would later reveal that the anthrax strain used in the attacks probably originated from the Army's own laboratory at Fort Detrick, Maryland, yet this probable "inside job" became the principal justification for national hysteria about the threat of "bioterrorism" supposedly posed by Iraq, Al Qaeda and other alien enemies of the United States.

With shockingly little debate and without any real evidence that such a threat even existed, most public-health advocacy groups, as well as such leading Democrats as John Edwards and Ted Kennedy, became ardent shareholders in the bioterrorism myth. Even the liberal Trust for America's Health glibly talked of an "Age of Bioterrorism," as if malevolent hands were already opening little vials of botulism and ebola on Main Street. In fact, the irresistible attraction of the so-called health/security nexus was the billions that the White House was proposing to spend on Project Bioshield, Bush's "major research and production effort to guard our people against bioterrorism." Many well-meaning people undoubtedly reasoned that, however farfetched the excuse, the Republicans were finally throwing money in a worthwhile direction and that some of the windfall would surely find its way to real needs after decades of neglect. Because the defensive preparations against bioterrorism borrowed heavily from pandemic planning, there was hope that influenza (previously shortchanged in the design of the National Pharmaceutical Stockpile in 1999) would be accorded its proper rank as a "most wanted" bioterrorist weapon.

Certainly the leading influenza researchers, from the first H5N1 outbreak in 1997, have been doing their utmost to alert

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

medical colleagues worldwide to the urgent threat of avian flu, as well as outlining the immediate steps the Bush Administration and other governments needed to take. As befitted his position as "pope" of influenza researchers, Robert Webster of Saint Jude Hospital in Memphis tirelessly preached the same sermon: "If a pandemic happened today, hospital facilities would be overwhelmed and understaffed because many medical personnel would be afflicted with the disease. Vaccine production would be slow because many drug-company employees would also be victims. Critical community services would be immobilized. Reserves of existing vaccines, M2 inhibitors and NA inhibitors would be quickly depleted, leaving most people vulnerable to infection."

Webster stressed the particular urgency of increasing the production and stockpiling of the NA inhibitor Tamiflu. Because this strategic antiviral was "in woefully short supply"—it is made by Roche at a single factory in Switzerland—Webster and his colleagues underlined the need for resolute government action: "The cost of making the drugs, as opposed to the price the pharmaceutical companies charge consumers, would not be exorbitant. Such expenditure by governments would be a very worthwhile investment in the defense against this debilitating and often deadly virus." Failure to act would mean intense competition over the small inventory of life-saving Tamiflu. "Who should get these drugs?" Webster asked. "Healthcare workers and those in essential services, obviously, but who would identify those? There would not be nearly enough for those who needed them in the developed world, let alone the rest of the world's population."

To many infectious-disease experts, Project Bioshield was Bush and Thompson's version of Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.

Webster wasn't calling for miracles, just prudent action to insure an adequate antiviral stockpile. But for almost three years he and other influenza experts were ignored, as were those who argued more generally that "the best way to manage bioterrorism is to improve the management of existing public-health threats." The Bush Administration instead fast-tracked vaccination programs for smallpox and anthrax, based on fanciful scenarios that might have embarrassed Tom Clancy. In reality, the biodefense boom was designed to build support for the invasion of Iraq by sowing the fear that Saddam Hussein might use germ warfare against the United States. In any event, Washington spent $1 billion expanding a smallpox vaccine stockpile that some experts claim was already quite sufficient. Hundreds of thousands of GIs were forced to undergo the vaccinations, but front-line health workers—the second tier of the smallpox campaign—largely boycotted the Administration's attempts to cajole "voluntary" participation.

In spite of this fiasco and millions of doses of unused vaccine, the Administration pressed ahead with the development of second-generation smallpox and anthrax vaccines, as well as vaccines for such exotic plagues as ebola fever; it continued to reject the "all hazards" strategy recommended by most public-health experts in favor of a so-called "siloed approach" that focused on a short list of possible bioweapons. In testimony before the House of Representatives, Tommy Thompson explained that while "private investment should drive the development of most medical products," only the government was in a position to develop those products that "everyone hopes...will never be needed" as a protection against "rare yet deadly threats." The government, in other words, was willing to spend lots of money on biological threats that were unlikely or farfetched but not on antivirals or new antibiotics for the diseases that were actually most menacing, like avian flu.

As biodefense morphed into the biggest show in town (growing from $1 billion in fiscal 2002 to more than $5 billion in fiscal 2004), Thompson's perverse logic soon had perverse impacts that confounded the hopes of the biodefense boom's early enthusiasts. For example, instead of spurring a welcome trickle-down of money for research on big killers like influenza, malaria and tuberculosis, biodefense projects stole top laboratory talent away from major disease research. With the National Institutes of Health's research budget barely keeping pace with inflation (after its banquet days under Clinton), there was an irresistible tropism of researchers and research projects toward biodefense windfalls. Reporting on this new "brain drain," writer Merrill Goozner cited the case of a leading UCLA lab that phased out its "basic science research on TB in favor of studying tularemia [rabbit fever]"—a disease that has zero public-health importance—because the latter infection was "on the government's A-list of potential bioterrorism agents" and tuberculosis wasn't. (After workers at a different lab accidentally infected themselves with tularemia, some scientists expressed concern to the *New York Times* that "leaky" biodefense research may pose a menace to public health comparable to the still uncertain threat from bioterrorism.)

To many infectious-disease experts, Project Bioshield was Bush and Thompson's version of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*: with priorities established in inverse relation to actual probabilities of attack or outbreak. "It's too bad that Saddam Hussein's not behind influenza," complained Dr. Paul Offit, a dissident member of the government's advisory panel on vaccination. "We'd be doing a better job." Indeed, HHS's zeal to combat hypothetical bioterrorism contrasts with its incredible negligence in exercising oversight of the nation's "fragile" influenza vaccine supply. As the GAO had warned Clinton's HHS Secretary Donna Shalala, vaccine availability in a pandemic would depend on the stability and surge capacity of existing production lines. But as shocked Americans discovered in the winter of 2003–04 and again in early fall 2004, the entire vaccine manufacturing system had decayed almost to the point of collapse. While Bush and Thompson were trying to bribe the pharmaceutical industry to join Project Bioshield, the same industry was abdicating its elementary responsibility to maintain a lifeline of new vaccines and antibiotics. Products that actually cure or prevent disease, like vaccines and antibiotics, are less profitable, so infectious disease has largely become an orphan market. As industry analysts point out, worldwide sales for all vaccines produce less revenue than

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pfizer's income from a single anticholesterol medication.

Thompson's successor, Mike Leavitt, has repeatedly reassured Congress and the public that the pandemic danger has the Administration's full attention and that he is receiving daily briefings on the worrisome situation in Asia. But in an extraordinary lecture at Harvard on June 1, Senate majority leader Bill Frist painted an apocalyptic picture of the chaos, even societal breakdown, that would ensue from our current lack of resources to deal with an avian flu or smallpox outbreak: "Hospitals and our long neglected public-health infrastructure would be quickly overwhelmed. In such a circumstance, panic, suffering and the spread of the disease would intensify.... Millions might perish, with whole families dying and no one to memorialize them." The Tennessee Republican, who long boasted of being the only doctor in the Senate, also blasted the government's failure to purchase an adequate stockpile of Tamiflu. "To acquire more antiviral agent, we would need to get in line behind Britain and France and Canada and others who have tens of millions of doses on order."

Without reference to billions already wasted, Frist proposed an urgent new Manhattan Project to protect the nation against avian flu and other infectious diseases and bioterrorist agents. From the heights of the Republican leadership it is hard to imagine a more devastating admission of the Administration's dereliction of duty to the health of the nation and the world. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

led to the most disastrous attack on our soil since the Civil War, we have the largest gulag in the world and the largest number of people per capita imprisoned in the civilized world, mostly for nonviolent violations of hypocritical and pseudo-moralistic drug laws. We have a 376-page law called the USA Patriot Act that was passed unread and is antithetical to everything our Founding Fathers believed in. Our fiscal policies benefit only the wealthiest Americans, corporate welfare is the norm, yet we begrudge national healthcare and assistance to the neediest. When does the fantasy end—when the Queen of Hearts screams, "Off with their heads"?

WILLIAM P. TROLINGER

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, PETE

Oakland, Calif.

■ So Pete is two years younger than I am [Studs Terkel, "Pete Seeger Is 86," May 16]. Our first meeting was long after Studs's. I was on my way into the apartment of the country's first tape editor, who would convert my recorded testimony before Senator Joe McCarthy (1953) into a disc for phonograph, and Pete was on his way out, having worked on a record of his own. He was a reader of my books and later listened to my nearly four decades of Pacifica broadcasts.

My autobiography was published in 1999, and I wrote him for a blurb. He replied in longhand: "Bill—I feel we have several jobs to do (1) stay alive and kicking; (2) reach out ever more widely to people we only partly agree with; (3) keep a sensayuma; (4) work hard on local, national, & international battles that can—be—won—now; (5) keep in mind long-term imperatives, but not concentrate on 'em right now. Meanwhile use this if you want: 'Bill Mandel gives a good example to us all. Stay involved. Don't give up. Will we make mistakes? Of course. Grin and learn. Pete Seeger, July 27, '99.'"

WILLIAM M. MANDEL

Coral Gables, Fla.

■ Pete Seeger played at the New Orleans Jazz & Heritage Festival thirty years ago, scheduled on a main stage late in the afternoon. Doug Kershaw, who wrote "Louisiana Man," and his band were up before Pete. Doug is an electric and energetic performer with a great backup band; he had the crowd of 10,000-plus dancing up a storm throughout his set. We, the festival organizers, were really worried that when Pete followed him the crowd would disperse to other stages. We loved Pete and were honored he'd come to our festival. Funny thing happened. Pete came out on that stage alone and put that crowd in the palm of his hand. No one left. He had a choir of 10,000-plus that grew throughout his performance. It was incredible.

I remember standing on the side of the stage with the stage manager and several festival organizers—we were all crying with joy and amazement. After two encores Pete and his wife, Toshi, got a schedule and a cold beer and went off to hear more music. They don't get any better than Pete Seeger, "America's tuning fork."

DAVID MCBURNETT

AS AMERICAN AS CHERRY PIE

Trenton, NJ

■ Readers' responses in your "Letters" column [June 27] to Sasha Abramsky's "Democrat Killer?" [April 18] show profound ignorance of the gun situation in America today. The gun lobby is out of control, pushing for more and more protections for gun manufacturers and fewer for the public. The Democrats should drop guns as an issue? Get serious. They dropped it years ago, after passing a few pieces of legislation in the 1990s that were so weak as to guarantee failure. While liberals have delusions of making gains by courting the gun lobby, the city where I live, and many cities across the country, are ravaged by gun violence. Eventually, America is going to have to get serious about gun control. I'm hoping *The Nation* won't be trailing behind.

MICHAEL KERR

Miami, Okla.

■ I am a Democrat, a gun owner and a member of both the ACLU and the NRA. I appreciate Sasha Abramsky's article and the letters that followed, but they miss the point. Dropping gun control as an issue for tactical reasons will never work. We Democrats must make it plain that we understand that gun ownership is a civil right, just as privacy and free speech are. Whenever a restriction on gun ownership is proposed, we should ask ourselves, "How would I react if this restriction were placed on freedom of speech or assembly?" What if computers had to be registered, or two people needed a permit to get together to talk politics?

HANK COINER

AIR AMERICA—FRESH!

Brooklyn, NY

■ Several readers wrote that they are still tuning in to the ever more conservative and content-deprived NPR because, basically, there's nothing else on where they are—whether that's driving cross-country or living in right-wing commercial radioland ["Letters," June 20]. But investing in a little technology and spending a few bucks will remedy that. Even if you're not within broadcast range of an Air America Radio outlet, listeners can get it on satellite radio or stream it on the Internet.

AAR's hosts and shows appeal to a range of progressive listeners' tastes—from the fearless satire of the *Morning Sedition* crew to the *Mike Malloy Show*'s righteous ranting. For my money, two gems are the *Rachel Maddow Show*, a news-packed hour that in my hometown is on at 5 AM (!), and the *Laura Flanders Show*, burning up the airwaves on Saturday and Sunday evenings.

And if you really miss Bob Edwards, he's on satellite radio too. So, really, honestly, there are no excuses!

NANCY CADET

WHO LET THE DOGS OUT?

■ Matt Steinglass's "The Heart of the Matter," in the July 11 issue, should have identified the title of Robert Stone's 1975 National Book Award winner as *Dog Soldiers,* not *Dogs of War.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Theater of Cruelty: Reflections On the Anniversary of Abu Ghraib

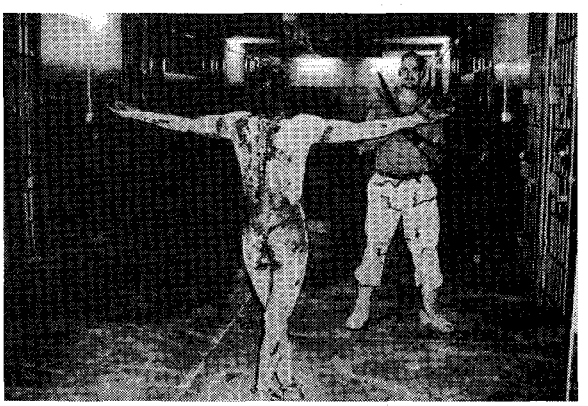
AMITAV GHOSH

When the story of the abuses at Abu Ghraib broke, many were surprised that the American military had chosen to take over a prison complex at a time when libraries, museums, hospitals and weapons depots were unguarded. But this focus on incarceration has a long pedigree in the history of European—and specifically English—military expansion. It goes back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when, as now, there was an enormous growth in domestic prison populations; in Britain at that time, as in America today, many soldiers and sailors lived in the shadow of new penal institutions. For many there was little difference between jail and military service. "No man will be a sailor," said Dr. Johnson, "who has contrivance enough to get himself into a jail." The growing number of prisoners was vital to the process of expansion, since it provided both a pool of recruits for military service and a population that could be used to settle overseas colonies.

In India too, the British conquests of the eighteenth century led to a rapid growth in the prison system. By the latter half of the century the British were transporting Indian prisoners to a chain of penal colonies on islands across the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean: Penang, Ramree Island near Burma, the Andaman Islands, Mauritius and Bencoolen off the coast of Sumatra. These were the ancestors of Guantánamo Bay.

Not the least of the many continuities between Abu Ghraib and British prisons in India lies in their obsessive fascination with observing and marking prisoners' bodies—stripping prisoners naked, as it were, in order to remake them. Indeed, some of the Abu Ghraib images are eerily reminiscent of photographs taken by British prison officials in Asia in the late nineteenth century. In these too, the prisoners are naked, men and women, and they stand with an arm outstretched and their genitals facing the camera; although their clothes have been removed, many wear fetters and chains. The difference is that these pictures were taken for officially sanctioned projects of documentation, and the jailors were absent from the frames.

In early nineteenth century India, convicts destined for transportation were often branded with tattoos. Apart from identifying the prisoners, these marks also served the purpose of humiliation. In precolonial India, where, as in North Africa and parts



of the Arab world, tattoos were an adornment more for women than men, marking the bodies of prisoners was intended as a symbolic emasculation, not just of the convicts but of the society that produced them. Although it is unlikely the prison guards at Abu Ghraib were aware of this precedent, a similar intent was clearly at work in their actions.

Another continuity lies in the marriage of incarceration and cultural theory. The methods employed in Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo Bay are said to have been informed by the ideas of anthropologists like Raphael Patai, who, in his notorious 1973 work *The Arab Mind*, wrote at length about Arab conceptions of sexuality, honor and masculinity. British prison officials

Amitav Ghosh is the author of numerous works of fiction and reportage. His latest book is a novel, The Hungry Tide *(Houghton Mifflin), published this spring.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in India were also careful to target what they thought were deep-rooted fears and taboos. They believed, for instance, that Indians dreaded sea voyages more than death itself: This was, in their eyes, one of the great advantages of island prisons.

One distinctive feature of Indian jails was that the convicts would often find refuge and consolation in informal networks of family and village, caste and community. The Abu Ghraib pictures suggest a similar dynamic. In some of them the prisoners seem almost to be reaching out to one another, as if in support. It is easy to imagine that this was a source of intense annoyance for guards who had graduated from the American prison system. In their previous jobs they would not have had to play a major role in brutalizing prisoners: The convicts would have done the job for them. In Abu Ghraib they found themselves dealing with a prison population that did not know the drill. This perhaps is why some of the guards wear expressions of exasperation in the Abu Ghraib pictures: It is as if they are irritated at having to teach these convicts something they should already have known. *Look*, say their faces, *this is how it's done*.

Despite all the pedigrees and continuities, there is also something radically new about the Abu Ghraib pictures. This novelty does not lie in the acts depicted (for we can be sure that far worse things have happened in Abu Ghraib and elsewhere, before and after the fall of Saddam Hussein): It lies, rather, in the pictures' intent. Many commentators have argued that what is depicted in the pictures is not torture but abuse. They are, I think, technically right. Torture implies the use of extreme means in order to achieve certain ends. It is clear from the Abu Ghraib pictures that the perpetrators of the abuse had no specific end in mind. It is as if they were making the prisoners act out an idea of torture, not as a means but as an end in itself. It is as if the jailors were saying to the prisoners: There is no particular purpose in doing this other than to teach you who you are and what your place is in relation to us.

The war in Iraq has often been described in the language of the classroom: It is said to be intended to provide lessons in democracy and to teach the ways of freedom and so on. The meaning of the photographs is also framed by this pedagogical context: It is as if they were made to illustrate, for the benefit of Third Worlders, the reality of the unspoken relationship between prisons and parliaments. This is where their horror lies: not just in the acts performed before the camera but in the fact that they are communicative acts, evidently intended to educate, to train. That is probably why the soldiers felt no hesitation in taking and distributing the pictures; they too were sure, no doubt, that the purity of their ends was a validation of the means they had chosen.

If there is any useful lesson to be drawn from this, it is that now, as ever, means cannot be separated from ends: They are the same thing. In the Clinton years there were many liberal interventionists who believed that the nobility of their ends somehow justified the use of any means at hand (unilateralism, the flouting of international law and so on). Today the tune has changed, and some liberal interventionists have begun to speak of the dangers of a foreign policy that is overly moralistic. This is to misplace the blame for everything that has gone wrong. Addressing the question of human betterment was never the problem: The problem began with the privileging of ends over means. It is because of this that the liberal interventionists have been so neatly tied into a knot by the neoconservatives: Having failed to address the question of the appropriate means, they have been unable to contest the appropriation of their ends. By way of contrast, this is also one of the reasons why such figures as Richard Falk and Noam Chomsky are so remarkable: because of their insistence on scrutinizing means as well as ends.

The anniversary of Abu Ghraib should serve as a reminder of what happens when the declared ends of a project are utterly incommensurate with the means: The means become the end, enacted over and over again. ■

Prosaic Judgments

JOHN PALATTELLA

THE WOUNDED SURGEON: Confession and Transformation in Six American Poets.
By Adam Kirsch. Norton. 299 pp. $25.

Sleeping and weeping. Marriage and baby carriage. Impediment and sediment. These are the kind of rhymes that mark time throughout Adam Kirsch's first book of poems, *The Thousand Wells*, which appeared in 2002. Those rhymes stirred up panic in some avant-garde enclaves. *The Thousand Wells* "begs the question beggaring contemporary poetry," wrote the poet Joshua Clover in the *Voice Literary Supplement*. "Is the experiment over?" Meanwhile, over at *The New Criterion*, the editors liked Kirsch's poems a lot and awarded him their magazine's annual poetry prize.

The New Criterion also helped to launch Kirsch's increasingly prominent career as a critic of poetry, albeit in a less direct way. Before becoming book critic for *The New York Sun* in 2002, Kirsch wrote many essays and reviews about poetry for *The New Republic*, where he was the assistant literary editor for several years—no small achievement for a writer in his 20s, particularly in a literary world that allots precious little space for the consideration of poetry. Yet as prolific as Kirsch is, he is not expansive in his taste. His tirades in those essays against the enduring influence of the experimental strains of poetic Modernism on contemporary American poetry marks him as the intellectual offspring of the New Formalists, a small group of poets and critics—among them Brad Leithauser, Timothy Steele and Dana Gioia (Bush's head of the National Endowment for the Arts)—whose essays and poems in defense of traditional formal conventions were championed by *The New Criterion* during the 1980s.

The recurring story of Kirsch's essays is one of betrayal, in which formally adventurous contemporary poets are accused of deceiving readers and degrading the art. Kirsch's basic approach is to define a poet's strength as his or her weakness. John Ashbery's coruscating syntax, self-deflating ironies and madcap raids on the word-hoard of pop culture are "an evasion of sense." Anne Carson's gnomic proposi-

John Palattella writes regularly for The Nation *on poetry.*

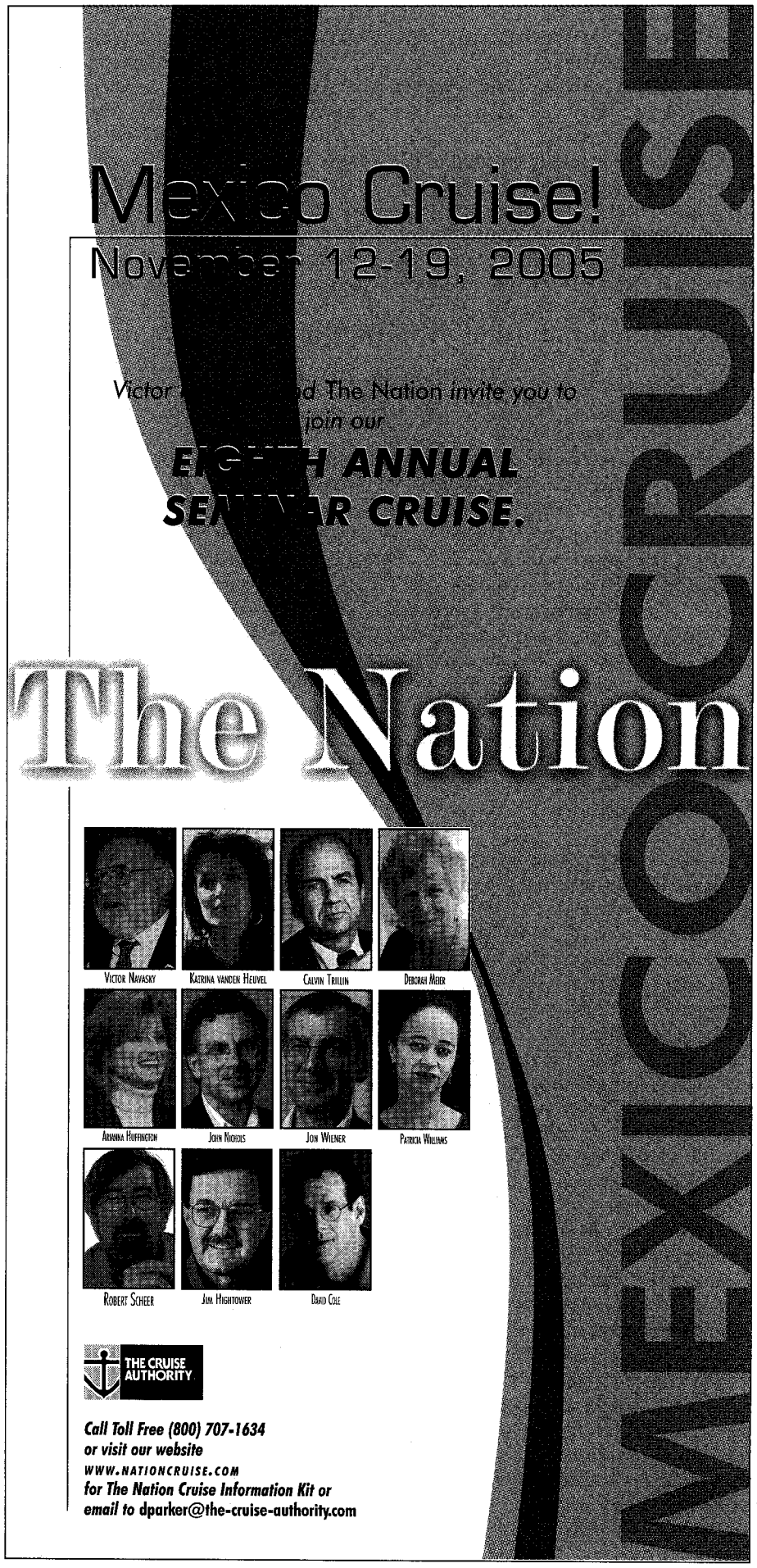
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions and relentless repetitions substitute "for the hard work of sensibility the precocious play of calculation and decoding."

Kirsch has a knack for deflating difficult poetry that is pedantic about its difficulty, as is sometimes the case with Carson's work. But when he dismisses difficult poetry itself as trivial or incomprehensible, he is unconvincing because his arguments are myopic. In a long discussion of Jorie Graham's eighth collection of poems, *Swarm* (2000), in *The New Republic*, Kirsch focuses almost exclusively on what he calls the book's "algebraic" style. There's no question that Graham's wedding of fragmentary plots to a pared-down syntax makes parts of *Swarm* oblique, but Kirsch doesn't try to grasp that style by placing it in the context of Graham's body of work. Why has Graham's style grown so disjunctive and austere? Does *Swarm* continue her habit of using a new book to counter the temper of her previous one? Is *Swarm* still animated by the sense of catastrophe and revelation that imbues Graham's previous books? Instead of taking up such questions, Kirsch puzzles over a handful of oblique lines and concludes that the effort Graham expects from a reader "is really too much to ask." It's as if Kirsch had noticed a crack in one wall in one room of a mansion and taken that flaw as sufficient grounds for condemning the entire edifice.

Kirsch attributes such flaws to a poet's disregard of "form, rhyme and meter." But oddly enough, his interest in the enduring strength of traditional forms amounts to little more than a preference for end rhymes and a regular metrical schema. Not unlike the New Formalists, Kirsch is negative and censorious. Rather than developing a supple defense of meter and rhyme, he thinks that exposing the alleged libertinism of poets who write in a Modernist vein is all that is necessary to lure poets and readers back to traditional forms. Perhaps that explains why in his harangue about John Ashbery, Kirsch doesn't mention that Ashbery has written in complicated forms like the sonnet, sestina and pantoum. And perhaps that explains why Kirsch hasn't entertained the obvious counterargument to his stance—that the most stringent of rhyme schemes, just like the loosest of free verse lines, is a technique that has been invented, shared and transformed over time. In other words, no form is inherently more natural or pure or poetic than another; all are equally rhetorical, and any form can present new possibilities just as easily as it can petrify into an orthodoxy.

For all their passion about poetic form, then, Kirsch's essays lack a basic sense of form's historical dimensions. They also



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

often lack a sense of tact. How much can you trust a critic whose defense of "the hard work of sensibility" is discharged with bombastic statements like "[August] Kleinzahler's poetry is emblematic of a peril facing poetry today"?

Kirsch tries something different in *The Wounded Surgeon*, examining formal shifts in twentieth-century American poetry in a historical light. He discusses six poets—Robert Lowell, Elizabeth Bishop, John Berryman, Randall Jarrell, Delmore Schwartz and Sylvia Plath—whose "achievement...has always been easy to misunderstand." They took risks in their work, Kirsch argues, "in ways that would have been unthinkable a generation earlier," and they were repaid by being labeled "confessional"—"a bad metaphor for what the most gifted of these poets were doing." The personal suffering that afflicted these six poets is significant, he says, because each poet's manner of representing it was an attempt to break away from, if not repudiate, the tropes of Modernism. Lowell and company are postmodernists, then, not simply because they wrote in the immediate wake of Modernism but because each wrote in an anti-Modernist style, one by which "the values of Modernism are tested, resisted, and transcended."

Confessionalism has always been a crude label, and Kirsch is right to debunk it. The term was coined by M.L. Rosenthal in a review of Robert Lowell's *Life Studies*, published in the pages of this magazine [see "Poetry as Confession," September 19, 1959]. *Life Studies* is confessional, Rosenthal wrote, because Lowell "removes the mask. His speaker is unequivocally himself, and it is hard not to think of *Life Studies* as a series of personal confidences, rather shameful, that one is honor-bound not to reveal." A few years later Rosenthal regretted having coined the term, calling it "both helpful and too limited." Rosenthal's reservations, however, didn't deter the British critic A. Alvarez from arguing in his book on suicide, *The Savage God* (1971), that when confessional poets remove the mask they speak as contemporary society's representative victims because their individual psychological breakdowns reflect a larger social and cultural breakdown. Alvarez's notion of confessional poetry is a tangle of contradictions: If the self's crises are those of society internalized, then how can the self establish enough distance from society in order to represent its crises? And if one establishes that distance, then to what extent do one's crises remain representative?

In attacking confessionalism, however, Kirsch thrashes one straw man only to fabricate another. He devotes a chapter each to the work of six poets, and in every chapter he drives hard at the same point: Each poet "eventually rebelled against the New Critical understanding of poetry. In their very different ways, they attempted to break free of the styles and subjects that Modernism had considered suitable." What's peculiar about this formulation is that Kirsch treats New Criticism and Modernism as synonymous; in other words, he conflates the many strands of Modernist poetry with a critical establishment that codified the poetry and criticism of some Modernists, especially those of T.S. Eliot, into a doctrine. A big problem with Kirsch's story of the postmodern turn in American poetry, then, is that it depends on a caricature of Modernism, one that runs athwart the rich and varied understanding of Modernist poetry possessed by the very poets he discusses.

Wedded to a narrow and pedestrian sense of poetic style and propriety, Kirsch is ever on the lookout for the slightest sign of deviance.

Consider the case of Elizabeth Bishop. Kirsch repeats the well-known story of Bishop meeting Marianne Moore at the New York Public Library in March 1934, and he notes that Moore would teach Bishop "the value of painstaking vision—not simply for its own sake, but as an ethical principle." What Kirsch doesn't mention is that two months later, Bishop published an essay that had grown out of an invaluable rendezvous with another Modernist poet. That essay, "Dimensions for a Novel," appeared in a Vassar College literary magazine (Bishop graduated from Vassar in 1934), and in it Bishop draws on T.S. Eliot's "Tradition and the Individual Talent" to develop a theory about narrative. Bishop had met Eliot in the spring of 1933, when he visited Vassar for the premiere of *Sweeney Agonistes*; she interviewed him for the college newspaper, and shortly thereafter she began writing "Dimensions for a Novel."

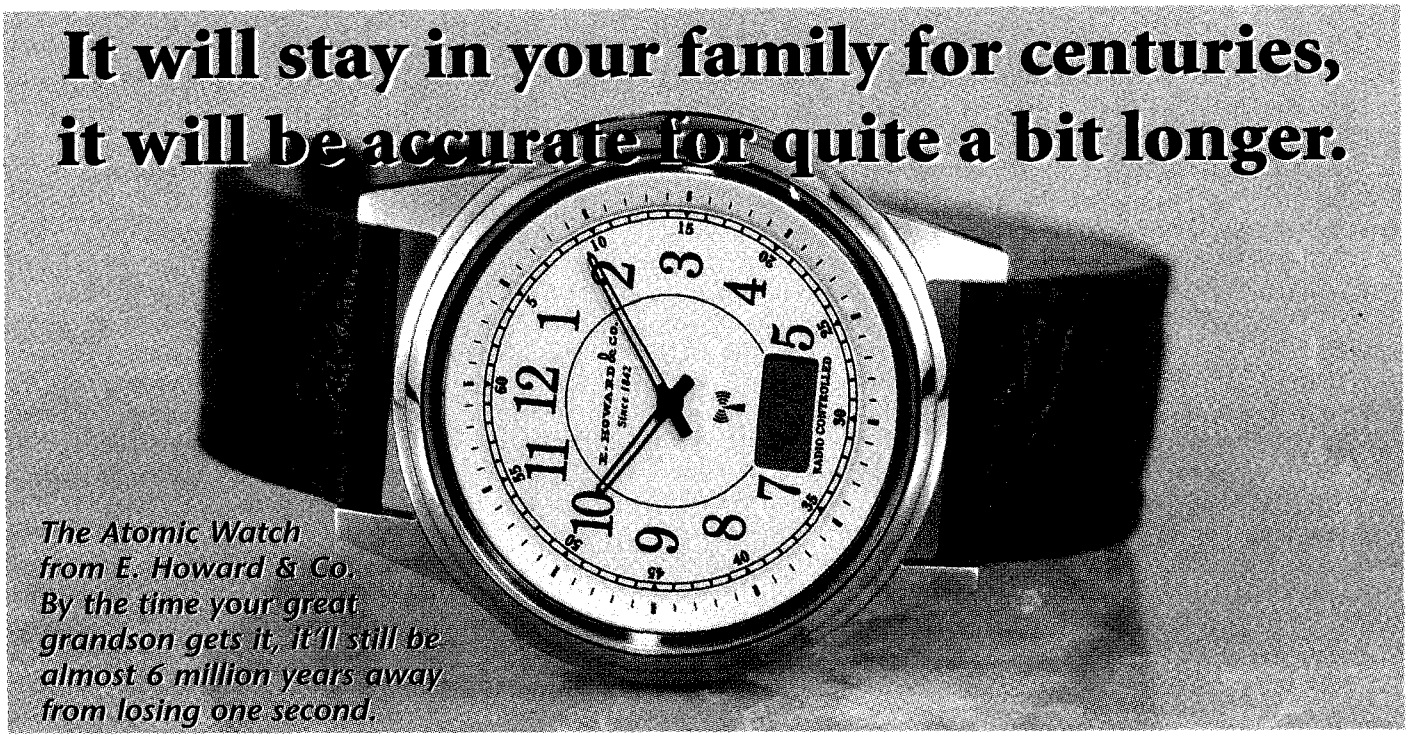
What's fascinating about her essay is that just as the New Critics were starting to distill into axioms Eliot's remarks in "Tradition and the Individual Talent," about the impersonality of his art (poetry "is not the expression of personality, but an escape from personality") and the monuments of literary tradition ("the existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves"), Bishop was reading Eliot in a different and richer way. She found in "Tradition and the Individual Talent" the tools for explaining how a novel's structure is continually being remade. "A constant process of adjustment is going on about the past—every ingredient dropped into it from the present must affect the whole," Bishop explained, drawing on Eliot's remarks about the existing monuments of literary tradition. "We live in great whispering galleries," she continued, "constantly vibrating and humming, or we walk through salons lined with mirrors where the reflections between the narrow walls are limitless, and each present moment reaches immediately and directly the past moments, changing them both." The New Critics found in Eliot a poet obsessed with stasis and order; Bishop found a poet fascinated with contingency and change. Reading her "Dimensions for a Novel," which departed radically from the era's prevailing wisdom about Eliot, it's hard not to conclude that Bishop's grasp of Modernism's intellectual and aesthetic legacy is much more complex than Kirsch is willing to allow.

"Over 2,000 Illustrations and a Complete Concordance" is one of Bishop's most fascinating poems, and Kirsch's discussion of it also veers away from exploring the complexity of her grasp of Modernism. In the poem's first two movements, Bishop compares steel-etched illustrations of the Holy Land found in a Bible ("Always the silence, the gesture, the specks of birds/suspended on invisible threads above the Site") with a random catalogue of her travels ("And at St. Peter's the wind blew and the sun shone madly"). The poem concludes with a brief third movement that is an agitated jumble of imperatives, particulars and open questions:

> Everything only connected by "and"
> and "and."
> Open the book. (The guilt rubs off the
> edges
> of the pages and pollinates the fingertips.)
> Open the heavy book. Why couldn't we
> have seen
> this old Nativity while we were at it?
> —the dark ajar, the rocks breaking with
> light,
> an undisturbed, unbreathing flame,
> colorless, sparkless, freely fed on straw,
> and, lulled within, a family with pets,
> —and looked and looked our infant
> sight away.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It will stay in your family for centuries, it will be accurate for quite a bit longer.



The Atomic Watch from E. Howard & Co. By the time your great grandson gets it, it'll still be almost 6 million years away from losing one second.

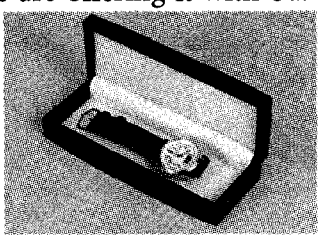
For centuries, if someone wanted a watch worthy of passing on to future generations, it had to come from Europe. Then, in 1842, a small American manufacturer of fine timepieces began to produce clocks and watches that rivaled those of the Europeans.

Since then, the expert watchmakers at E. Howard and Company have been known around the world for the accuracy and classic elegance of their timepieces. Now, they've developed the Continental Atomic Wristwatch- blending quality craftsmanship, distinctive design and atomic accuracy into one watch. It's destined to be in your family for years, and it's guaranteed to be accurate to within a billionth of a second.

Never set your watch again. The reason this watch is so accurate is because it gets its signal from the official US Atomic Clock in Fort Collins, Colorado. The standard for timekeeping throughout the US, the Atomic Clock uses sophisticated technology to measure the vibration of atoms, which is constant. For this reason, it is accurate to within a billionth of a second, and it will take approximately 6 million years for it to lose a second! Until now, watches designed to receive the radio signal had to have plastic cases. Now, "America's Timekeeper" has created a high-quality analog watch in silver and gold plated styles. The watch is designed so that it can still receive the signal- so you get traditional elegant styling with modern timekeeping accuracy. Once you've selected the proper time zone, you never have to touch it again. It automatically adjusts for Daylight Savings Time, 30-day months and leap years. It comes in an elegant wooden box with the E. Howard name and a numbered certificate of authenticity.

Designed for a lifetime of accuracy. This finely crafted watch blends past and future with elegant, easy-to-read analog display and handy digital readout, showing Day and Month, Seconds, or US Time Zone at the touch of a button. This good-looking watch is also tough, with a scratch-resistant crystal and polished silver or gold stainless steel case that's water resistant.

Try it now with our exclusive home trial. No one has sold more Atomic Watches than we have, and this is the one that met our high standards for looks and performance. We are so sure that you will like it too that we are offering it with our exclusive 90-day home trial. If you are not completely satisfied with the watch for any reason, simply return it within 90 days for a refund of the purchase price.



E. Howard Continental Atomic Watch
Item # ZR-4176 **$99.95** + S&H

Also Available in Gold, ask for pricing details
Please mention promotional code 30220.
For fastest service, call toll-free 24 hours a day

800-922-2792

To order by mail, please call for details.

firstSTREET™
INNOVATION & TECHNOLOGY: SEE IT HERE FIRST

1998 Ruffin Mill Road
Colonial Heights, VA 23834
www.firststreetonline.com

41292

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kirsch glosses the final line to mean that Bishop wants to be freed from the burden of seeing, since she will never experience the grand mythic vision depicted in the engravings. I think Bishop accepts a different view of vision, one shaped in part by her reading of Eliot. The poem's perspective—the intimation of despair in a familiar landscape—recalls "The Waste Land," but while Eliot seeks a vision that can unify such a landscape, Bishop forgoes the search for a solution. By looking "our infant sight away," does she mean becoming absorbed in a scene of random particulars or recovering unadulterated sight? "It is no doubt all these things, and a perfect summation of the poet's act—the looking so intense that it becomes something like death or ecstasy, both at once perhaps," suggests John Ashbery, whose interpretation of the questions raised by the concluding line of "Over 2,000 Illustrations and a Complete Concordance" has always struck me as right. For Bishop, a painstaking view of an inconsequential world is inescapable—but still capable of arousing rapture and transformation. Bishop had suggested something similar about vision and its bewildering qualities in "Love Lies Sleeping," an aubade whose sordid setting resembles Eliot's "Preludes." In the final scene, a man lies on a bed, his head flung back over its edge, and through a window "the city grows down into his open eyes/inverted and distorted. No. I mean/distorted and revealed,/if he sees it at all."

Kirsch's use of a story of repression, opposition and liberation to explain the postmodern turn in midcentury American poetry is not original. After Rosenthal, the best-known version of that story is found in James E.B. Breslin's *From Modern to Contemporary*. A lesser-known version, which *The Wounded Surgeon* more clearly recalls, is Bruce Bawer's *The Middle Generation: The Lives and Poetry of Delmore Schwartz, Randall Jarrell, John Berryman, and Robert Lowell*. At the same time, I am hardly the first person to poke holes in the kind of story that Kirsch and others have told. A decade ago, Langdon Hammer and James Longenbach advanced indispensable critiques of what Longenbach calls "the breakthrough narrative"; both writers explain how stories about Lowell, Bishop, Jarrell and Berryman breaking out of their Modernist chains rely on a simplified view of Modernist poetry and dated polemical distinctions, such as that postmodernism not only comes after Modernism but is always antithetical to it. Why, then, would Kirsch choose to tell a story that is inaccurate and outmoded?

The answer involves seeing *The Wounded Surgeon* against the background of Kirsch's magazine criticism. Despite his respect for Eliot—he draws the title of his book from Eliot's "East Coker" ("The wounded surgeon plies the steel/That questions the distempered part")—Kirsch wants to put paid to Modernism. "The twentieth century saw poetry fall victim to a neurotic obsession with the modern," and "Ezra Pound was the Patient Zero of this sickness," Kirsch wrote last year in *Poetry* in a review of an anthology of twentieth-century poetics. That "sickness," Kirsch continued, bred a "hatred of artifice" and "loyalty to individual perception" that culminated in "the great refusal about which the romantics only speculated: the immolation of meter, rhyme and form." Let's put aside Kirsch's implication that Ezra Pound, the most ardent aesthete of the Modernist bunch, hated artifice. By claiming in *The Wounded Surgeon* that Lowell and company "tested, resisted, and transcended" the values of Modernism by writing about their lives with formal rigor, detachment and skill, Kirsch aims to consign Modernism to the dustbin of history. This may satisfy Kirsch's polemical itch, but it robs him of the ability to tell a more subtle and accurate story about poetic change and development. Deaf to the variety of Modernism, he can't appreciate how it nourished and was transmuted by the poets he discusses.

Reading *The Wounded Surgeon*, it's hard to escape the impression that for all his erudition, Kirsch cares about poems only tangentially. He is less a debunker than a derider, scolding poets not because their work lacks invention or imagination or ideas but because it fails to conform to a narrow and pedestrian sense of style and propriety. Even while discussing the work of his postmodern idols, Kirsch remains on the lookout for the slightest sign of deviance. At one point he upbraids Bishop for being "recklessly sentimental" by affixing to "The Bight" the subtitle "On my birthday," and elsewhere he complains that the "desperate instability" conveyed by John Berryman in his late poem "Despair" is "repellent and pitiful." What seems pitiful is Kirsch's chastising of Bishop and Berryman for failing to fulfill his limited critical precepts. Like Kirsch's magazine criticism, *The Wounded Surgeon* contains a story about poetry and betrayal. This time, however, its protagonist is not a beguiling contemporary poet but a critic named Adam Kirsch. ■

Mother Nature's Son

ROSS BENJAMIN

THE NOVICES OF SAIS. By Novalis. Archipelago. 129 pp. $18.

With his moony-eyed, flushed face gazing out from his portrait, the late-eighteenth-century poet Novalis looks like the patron saint of German Romantic literature. Friedrich von Hardenberg took his pen name from his twelfth-century Saxon ancestors, known in Latin as de Novali, or "clearers of new land," which finely evokes the otherworldly aura for which he came to be revered. Yet the "ardent and holy Novalis," as Emerson called him, had his feet firmly planted on the ground. The poet made his living as a salt-mine inspector, conducting geological surveys and mineralogical studies—an experience that had a significant influence on his literary work that scholars are only beginning to register.

Still, it's not the scientist who has enchanted generations of readers but rather the doomed visionary who died young after spending his entire life in the shadow of mortality. Born in 1772 in Saxony, Novalis barely survived an attack of dysentery at the age of 9. In 1794, after completing a law degree, he fell desperately in love with the 12-year-old Sophie von Kühn, to whom he was engaged in secret. But Sophie soon fell ill and died just after her 15th birthday. The following, grief-stricken year, Novalis enrolled at the Mining Academy in Freiburg and began writing poetry while pursuing his studies of mathematics, physics and chemistry. His

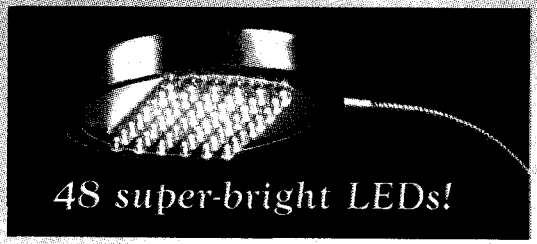
Ross Benjamin, a former Nation *intern and a 2003–04 Fulbright scholar in Berlin, is a freelance writer living in Brooklyn.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Oil Sheiks Furious!

It's the end of Thomas Edison's greatest invention ever—the light bulb! And your energy costs are about to fall drastically.

How would you like to discover an invention that will lower your light bill, put an end to high-energy prices, and actually provide your home with true, white light? Well our researchers had to out-think Thomas Edison to develop a way to bring this revolutionary invention into your home at a very low price. It may be the end of the light bulb—that 130-year-old inefficient invention that wastes heat and energy. From now on you will use LEIDT bulbs. **Light Emitting Illumination Diode Technology**, never burns out and use 90% less electricity then a standard 60-watt bulb! Recent research has discovered a way to create LEDs that blend into a bright white light and that can last over 50,000 hours. That means that your days of changing bulbs are over. We have developed a special grid of 48 LEIDT bulbs that have a super bright luminous intensity that ranges from 3000 to 4000mcd (mill candela) while using less than 6 watts of electricity. Even the US department of energy predicts that this new technology could eventually save $125 BILLION in U.S. household electric bills per year. And less energy usage should help lower our super high-energy prices. The magic in our LEIDT technology is that the LED array does not give off much heat like a standard incandescent bulb so the energy is channeled into light, not into wasted heat.



And while you are reading under this bright white array, you will be saving oil and gas that is wasted in producing inefficient incandescent light. Not only will LEIDT lamps help lower energy costs but also they will help reduce CO_2 emissions (greenhouse gases) and reduce acid rain. Rarely has such an invention hit the market that can save money, time, improve the environment and even help our national security. This is finally an invention that the liberals and the conservatives agree on. If everyone quickly switches to LEIDT technology, the benefits for all of us would be tremendous.

Even the **U.S. Dept. of Energy** predicts that this new technology could eventually

Save $125 BILLION

in U.S. household electric bills per year!

We at NextTen firmly believe that efficient use of energy is a national security issue and this is our way to help reduce our dependence on imported fuels. Each of us can start doing our part by switching to LEIDT Lamps. Of course if you are not thrilled with the LEIDT lamps just return it within 30 days for a full refund of the purchase price.

LEIDT Lamp ***only*** $~~$79.95~~ +S&H

Promotional Code LED111-01

Please mention this when you call.

Call to order toll-free,

800-386-7169

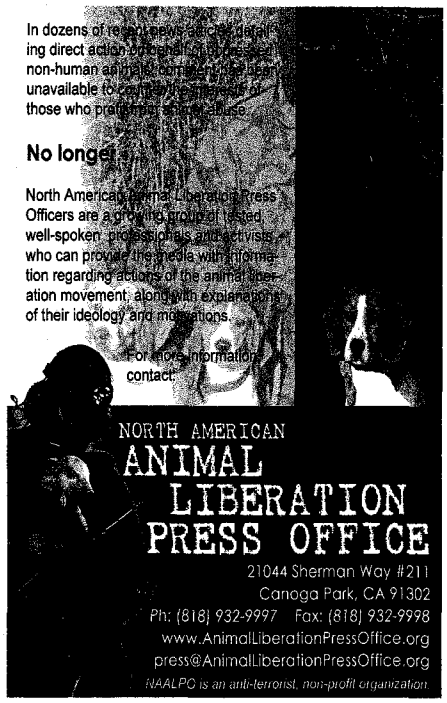
MasterCard VISA

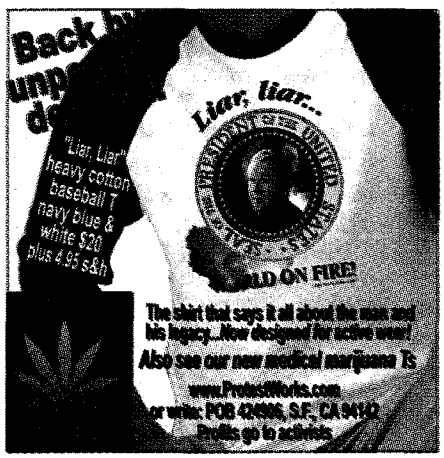
NEXTTEN

14101 Southcross Drive W., Dept. LED111-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337

Visit us at www.nextten.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


In dozens of recent news articles detailing direct action on behalf of animals, non-human animals' comments are often unavailable to counter the claims of those who practice animal abuse.
No longer!
North American Animal Liberation Press Officers are a growing group of vetted, well-spoken professionals and activists who can provide the media with information regarding actions of the animal liberation movement, along with explanations of their ideology and motivations.
For more information contact:
NORTH AMERICAN
ANIMAL
LIBERATION
PRESS OFFICE
21044 Sherman Way #211
Canoga Park, CA 91303
Ph: (818) 932-9997 Fax: (818) 932-9998
www.AnimalLiberationPressOffice.org
press@AnimalLiberationPressOffice.org
NAALPO is an anti-terrorist, non-profit organization


Liar, liar...
"Liar, Liar" heavy cotton baseball T navy blue & white $20 plus 4.95 s&h
SOLD ON FIRE!
The shirt that says it all about the man and his legacy...Now designed for active wear!
Also see our new medical marijuana T's
www.ProtestWorks.com
or write: POB 42006, S.F., CA 94142
Profits go to activists

Writing Services for Liberals, Enviros, Peaceniks, and Other Pariahs.
John Sherman
949.494.5073
john@fordsherman.com

first major work—the *Blütenstaub* [*Pollen*] fragments—appeared in 1798 in the premiere issue of the journal *Athenäum*. Edited by August and Friedrich Schlegel, the journal was the central forum for the early German Romantics who congregated in the city of Jena, notably the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher, the writer and critic Ludwig Tieck and the philosopher Friedrich Schelling.

The Romantics, feeling that the French Revolution had left mostly desiccated cultural forms in its wake, sought to forge a new mode of existence out of the ruins. Their movement ran counter to the cult of reason and scientific objectivity arising from the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Advocates of a higher unity, they did not so much reject rational illumination as insist that the nocturnal, subterranean and interior realms of existence not be forgotten. Significantly, the *Athenäum*'s history paralleled Novalis's career, its final issue containing his last work before his death at the age of 28 in 1801. In the span of three years, he virtually patented the sensibility of early German Romanticism. His writings—most notably the haunting poetic work *Hymnen an die Nacht* [*Hymns to the Night*], which memorialized his lost child-bride, and the never-completed novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* [*Henry of Ofterdingen*]—helped launch the movement and have since become practically synonymous with it. The yearning for the remote and unattainable, the fascination with ancient myths and mysticism, the heralding of spiritual rebirth, the celebration of the fragment as a form of expression—it's all there in Novalis. But his unfinished novel *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*—which has just been reissued by Archipelago Books as *The Novices of Sais*—is more than a specimen for an anatomy of a literary movement. Its variations on the theme of the human search for knowledge of nature exhibit a dazzling array of poetic motifs and philosophical expositions.

The basic scenario of *The Novices of Sais* harks back to an ancient, mystical age of masters, disciples and initiation rituals. The novel takes the form of a conversation among a group of "novices," spiritual apprentices who gather at the feet of their mentor, the "teacher," to receive instruction in the secrets of nature. For the Romantics, nature was a forest of symbols containing all mysteries and all truths. In this, they expressed the spirit of their times, except that they assigned the task of deciphering nature to the poet rather than to the scientist. *The Novices* is a kaleidoscope of interpretations, visions and allegories of nature, all conveyed by the disciples in a series of philosophical dialogues. In the mesh of their "crisscrossing voices," paradoxes abound. One disciple observes that nature is as foreign as an indecipherable script "written...in crystals and stone formations," yet as familiar as a "household utensil." Another calls it a "sacred home" from which human beings have strayed, while yet another sees it as a "hideous prison" confining them to their mortal fate. The teacher, for his part, finds in nature a delightful play of resemblances: "Sometimes men were stars, sometimes the stones were beasts, the clouds plants." A more menacing view is expressed by a disciple for whom nature is an "awful, devouring power," a force of annihilation wreaking the "desolation of former glories," a perilous abyss that swallows up life and human civilization.

Like Plato in the *Symposium*, Novalis uses conversation rather than disquisition to convey ideas. In fact, the affinity with the *Symposium* runs deeper: Both books view Eros as essential to the attainment of truth, and both have a female character as their vehicle of revelation. In the *Symposium*, the priestess Diotima explains how the desire for knowledge is initially sparked by erotic attraction. This must have appealed to Novalis, who famously likened his passion for philosophy to his love of Sophie, playing on the Greek *philosophia*. In *The Novices of Sais*, the connection between erotic mystery and the quest for truth is epitomized in the motif of the veil appearing in the myth, told by one of the disciples, of the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis. Her tantalizing veil entices mortals to uncover the naked secrets it conceals: "He who does not seek to lift it, is no true novice of Sais."

In its capacity to incite unquenchable desire, the veil rivals the Blue Flower, an image from *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*, widely hailed as the quintessential novel of *Sehnsucht* (romantic longing). But it also has an enigmatic quality much like the rippling, suggestive texture of Novalis's prose. His language seduces in the same way that the numerous cloaks and guises of nature captivate the knowledge seekers of the novel. *The Novices of Sais* beguilingly embodies the process of "romanticizing" the world as he defines it in a posthumously published fragment: a transfiguration of the commonplace, giving "the ordinary a mysterious countenance, the known the dignity of the unknown." ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Better Than Viagra®*?

Take this test...

- ☐ Do you worry about keeping an erection during intercourse?
- ☐ Do you have a medical condition such as high blood pressure/cholesterol/hormone disorders/diabetes/depression?
- ☐ Do you want to improve your sexual confidence?
- ☐ Are you concerned your partner is disappointed in your sexual performance?

If you answered "yes" to one or more of the questions above, Androvin™ may significantly improve your sex life—and without a doctor's prescription.

Androvin™ provides a safe, discreet way to firmer, fuller erections, more intense orgasms and more overall energy.

Let's face it, no matter how good we think we are in bed, the reality is most middle aged men and seniors have room for improvement. Just ask their wives. No fault of their own, the fact is that the quality and fullness of erections often decrease as men age. And it's the rare man over 45, who can truthfully admit he can perform like he did when he was 25.

What Happened To Us?

Generally speaking, men experience a decrease in erection quality with age. This is totally normal. Some causes are stress, poor nutrition, smoking, and certain medications. Whatever the reason, the usual result is a decrease in natural blood flow during arousal, leading to difficulty obtaining and maintaining an erection. Some men slowly lose firmness of their erections, while others lose the length of time their erections last. Unfortunately, this often-embarrassing situation can cause decreased self-esteem and result in serious emotional and relationship problems.

Remarkable Daily Supplement That Guarantees To Increase Your Sexual Performance

Despite ridiculous claims to the contrary, there is no known ingestible product to alter the size or shape of your penis. But there is a way you can enjoy sexual health without embarrassing visits to the doctor, expensive prescriptions, painful injections into the penis, or surgical procedures. Androvin™ is a remarkable, once-a-day, non-prescription supplement that is guaranteed to increase your sexual desire and performance. And unlike prescription drugs that must be timed with precision and taken before a sexual encounter, all-natural Androvin—simply taken once daily—is designed to help maintain blood flow for firmer, fuller erections for as long as it's used. You're always ready to go!

Harder, Longer-Lasting Erections

Certain powerful ingredients in Androvin, known as vasodilators, help to relax smooth muscle tissue in the pelvic region. The result? An increased amount of blood flows freely to the penis, to create a fuller, harder, longer-lasting erection.

Now You Can Feel More Relaxed, Eager And Confident!

The key to better sex is also in your mind. Consequently, Androvin also contains ingredients that stimulate the neurotransmitters in the brain's pleasure center to increase sexual capacity. This not only enhances the desire for sexual stimulation and helps improve vitality and energy, it also minimizes performance anxiety before it starts. Those who take Androvin feel more relaxed, more eager, and more confident.

The Androvin™ Difference

- Viagra®*, the most commonly prescribed drug for erectile dysfunction, may cause drug resistance in certain long-term users, cannot be used by people with certain cardiovascular conditions, does not address libido issues, and has shown severe side effects in some patients.
- The majority of over-the-counter sexual dysfunction products have little/no efficacy.
- Androvin's effective formula can allow healthy men, as well as those suffering from impotence, to obtain full erections after one or more dosages, along with increased libido and improved satisfaction.
- Androvin is produced under FDA approved conditions, using only the highest quality pharmaceutical-grade ingredients.

Risk Free Trial Offer & Free Bottle Available For Limited Time

For a limited time, Androvin is being offered through an exclusive manufacturer's direct risk-free trial. Your order will be shipped immediately in discrete packaging so no one has to know your secret. Try it for 30 days, and if you don't think that Androvin has significantly improved your sexual performance and stamina, return the unused portion for a full refund (less s&h). You risk absolutely nothing! To learn how to get a FREE bottle of Androvin and free shipping just call. This offer is for a limited time, only as supplies last.

To order call toll-free 24 hours a day!

1-800-859-1152

To order by mail, please call for details.

Your privacy is our priority. Your order will be billed and shipped by "Premium Nutrition, Inc." We will never share your information with an outside company. It is for internal use only.

HERE'S WHAT SOME OF THE SATISFIED ANDROVIN™ USERS ARE SAYING:

"What a sense of confidence! Androvin really helps to elevate my mood and create a better sense of well being; and, my performance is the best it has been in years." **Mitch—Oviedo, FL**

"I call it, the Viagra®* replacement of the 21st century. I have used prescription drugs in the past to treat my erectile dysfunction, but now, I rely on Androvin. It's so much more convenient to get, less money and works just as well." **Brian—Naples, FL**

*Viagra is a registered trademark of Pfizer, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOCIETIES OF PEACE

The Second World Congress on Matriarchal Studies

Contrary to the common prejudice which sees matriarchies as "women's rule" these societies have real gender-egalitarian, consensus-based and peaceful traditions. Their cultural genius can give the guidelines for a better future. Please come to this groundbreaking congress which will bring together speakers from Africa, Asia, Europe, North and South America with a special invitation to indigenous women and men from matriarchal societies worldwide.

SPEAKERS

Yvette Abrahams (Khoisan, South Africa), Doña Enriqueta Contreras, (Oaxaca, Mexico),Lamu Gatusa (Mosuo, China), Heide Göttner-Abendroth (Germany), Kaarina Kailo (Finland), Barbara Mann (Bear Clan of the Ohio Seneca, North America), Joan Marler (USA), Vicki Noble (USA), Peggy Reeves Sanday (USA), Genevieve Vaughan (USA), *and many others*

Sept. 29 - Oct. 2, 2005
Texas State University
Performing Arts Center,
San Marcos, Texas
www.second-congress-matriarchal-studies.com
matriarchyconference.com
(512) 444-1672

"Homeland Security" t-shirt • item #1977B • sizes S-3X

Products for Progressives since 1979.
Northern Sun Merchandising
to order, or for a free catalog • 800.258.8579 xTN
www.northernsun.com

GOD & LIBERTARIANISM

A NEW COMMENTARY IN WORTHINGTON'S WORLD

VISIT
www.worthingtonsworld.com

Stake a Claim to Your Domain Name with pairNIC.com.

Your dot COM name is out there. Don't hesitate a day longer. Register your domain name at a great price with pairNIC.

Visit **www.pairnic.com** to claim your domain name now!

pair

www.pair.com

Three by W.S. Merwin

To the Margin

Following the black
footprints the tracks
of words that have passed that way
before me I come
again and again to
your blank shore

not the end yet
but there is nothing more
to be seen there
to be read to be followed
to be understood
and each time I turn
back to go on
in the same way
that I draw the next breath

the wider you are
the emptier and the more
innocent of any
signal the more
precious the text
feels to me as I make
my way through it reminding
myself listening
for any sound from you

To Being Late

Again again you are
the right time after all

not according to
however we planned it

unforeseen and yet
only too well known
mislaid horizon
where we come to ourselves
as though we had been expected

you are where it appears now
and will stay from now on
in its own good time
it was you we came to
in the first place
hearing voices around us
before we knew what they said

but you always surprise us
it is you that we
hurry to
while you go on waiting
to the end of space

and when we get to you
we stop and listen
trying to hear whether
you are still there

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To the Wires Overhead

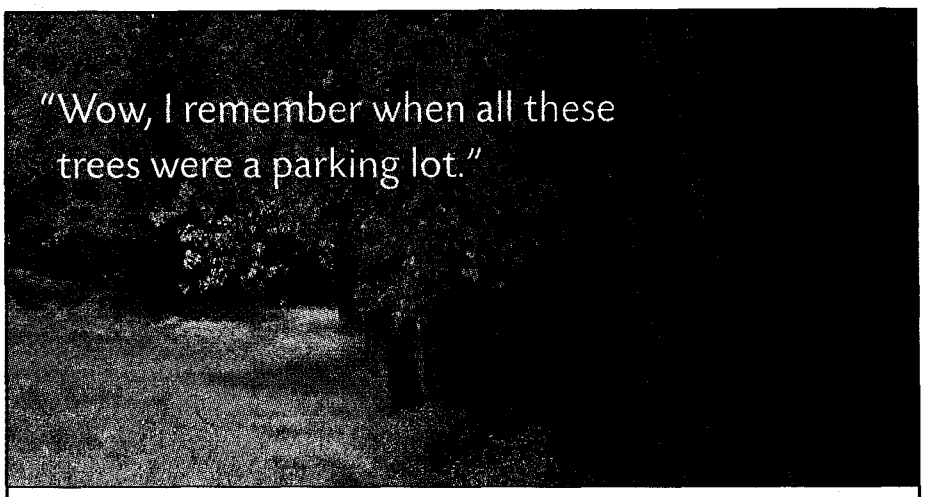
This is the year
when the swallows did not come back

you have not noticed

now all spring
the evenings' messages
are no longer passing through
the feet of swallows
lined up in a row
holding you
under the high
strung sparks of their voices

with the notes of that
music changing
as once more they would go
sailing out and once more
singly or in pairs or
several together
across the long light they would
skim low over the gardens
and down the steep pastures
and over the river
and would come back to their places
to go on telling
what was there while it was there

you do not hear
what is missing



The future can be taller. Quieter.
And filled with green places.
Invest in tomorrow today.

Domini
SOCIAL INVESTMENTS®
Investing For Good℠

1-800-762-6814 *www.domini.com*

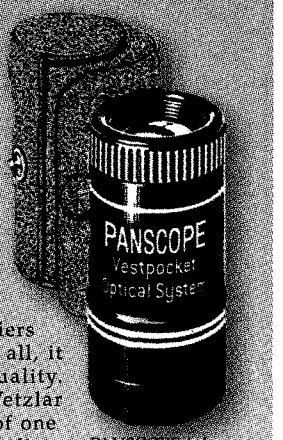
You should consider the Domini Funds' investment objectives, risks, charges, and expenses carefully before investing. Please obtain a copy of the Funds' current prospectus for more complete information on these and other topics by calling 1-800-762-6814 or online at *www.domini.com*. Please read it carefully before investing or sending money. DSIL Investment Services LLC, Distributor 04/05

The only universal optical instrument...

PANSCOPE

(the complete optical system) from us only $54.95 (Why pay more?)*

***But read this ad for an even better deal!**



This is a little optical marvel. **PANSCOPE** (only 2" long) contains a complete optical system in its tiny body. You may use it as a 3x telescope or as a unique 3x telescope-loupe. In its magnifying mode, it delivers magnifiers and loupes at 5x, 10x, and 15x enlargement. And to top it all, it also functions as a 30x microscope of laboratory quality.

This marvelous little instrument, developed in Wetzlar (Germany), home of famous Leica cameras, is the product of one of Asia's finest makers. Its coated optics are of superb quality, delivering the image with brilliant luminosity, in needle-sharp focus, with absolute clarity and with full chromatic correction.

PANSCOPE is the indispensable first choice of scientists and professionals and of just about everybody who wants and needs to see the infinite detail in life that is not readily available to the unaided eye.

• *PANSCOPE is beautifully gift-boxed, comes with its neatly fitted leather case and with a plastic "tripod" for extended observations at 15x and 30x.*

***And here is the even better deal: Buy two PANSCOPES for $109.90 and we'll send you a third one with our compliments – absolutely FREE!** You will be amazed and delighted with this wonderful optical instrument. Do yourself a favor. Order your **Panscope(s)** today!

You may order by toll-free phone, by mail, or by fax and pay by check or AMEX/Visa/MasterCard. Please give order code shown. Add $6.95 S/H for one, $9.90 for three and sales tax for CA delivery. You have 30-day refund and one-year warranty. We do not refund postage. For customer service or wholesale information, please call (415) 356-7801.

Please give order code Y652

jomira
division of jomira/advance
470 Third Street, #211, San Francisco, CA 94107

© Order by toll-free phone: (800) 600-2777 or (fastest!) by fax: (415) 356-7804 ©
Visit our website at www.jomira.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Just $3.99 each or 3 for $10.00 Free Shipping & Handling

Let your voice of protest be seen and heard with our high quality, digital, full color, 4MIL vinyl bumper sticker 3" x 15"

Make check or money order payable to:
SuperNova-N, P.O. Box 2588, Evergreen, CO 80437

- Bulk pricing available -

EVENTS

NATIONAL

Q: Why would *Nation* readers...

■ ...be interested in hearing what Benjamin Creme has to say? A: Because they're concerned about a world imperiled by war, growing economic disparity and environmental degradation—and want a reason for hope. Hear Benjamin Creme speak on the Emergence of the World Teacher Maitreya and the Masters of Wisdom.... "A decidedly upbeat description of [world] changes"—*New York Times*. July & August in New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco. For details: (888) 242-8272. www.share-international.org.

URPE Summer Conference Alternatives!

■ Saturday, August 20 to Tuesday, August 23, Camp Chinqueka, Bantam, Connecticut. Plenaries include: "Policy Alternatives," with Susan Williams McElroy, Robert Pollin and Gil Skillman; "Restructuring Social Relations," with Julie Matthaei, John Miller and Héctor Sáez; "Alternatives to Capitalism," with Gar Alperovitz, Allin Cottrell and Robin Hahnel; and the David Gordon Lecture ("Seven Theses for a Robust 21st-Century Socialism"), by David Laibman. Special guest workshops by the Association for Economic and Social Analysis. And lots of other workshops! Camp Chinqueka, located in the mountains of northwestern Connecticut, provides opportunities for swimming, boating, tennis, basketball, soccer and hiking. Children are welcome. Rates: sliding scale. For more information, contact URPE at urpe@labornet.org or (413) 577-0806. Visit our website: www.urpe.org.

The advertising deadline for Events is every Thursday. Rates: $190 for 50 words; $225 for 75 words, additional words (above 75) $2.00 each. To place an ad, call Leigh at (212) 209-5414.

FILMS

Shoot the Piano Player

STUART KLAWANS

THE BEAT THAT MY HEART SKIPPED • THE WORLD • TROPICAL MALADY • ME AND YOU AND EVERYONE WE KNOW

Like the Tower of Pisa, the Cyclone at Coney Island or the La Brea tar pits, James Toback's *Fingers* is a landmark: unbalanced, ramshackle and gloopy but irrevocably *there*. It is both a location in itself and a locator, which puts into place some of the most idiosyncratic traits of 1970s American cinema.

From *Five Easy Pieces*, Toback lifted the figure of a keyboard-playing misfit—a character who, in the earlier film, could not live in either of the social worlds available to him, those of the intelligentsia and the working class, but who became in *Fingers* someone who could not live up to his models for manhood: the artist and the thug. In another act of mimicry, Toback cast Harvey Keitel as his lead, exploiting the actor's *Mean Streets* persona as sensitive yet explosive, thoughtful yet mobbed up—an image that *Fingers* exaggerated to the point of psychosis. The Golden Age of Porn gave Toback his courtship scenarios, establishing the far edge of fantasy for *Fingers*. The film's far edge of realism was inspired by Scorsese, Lumet, Friedkin and many others, who led the way for Toback's use of unadorned New York locations.

Toback set his borrowings into unsteady motion with a premise that only he, I admit, could have dreamed up: What if Glenn Gould were the enforcer for a New York City loan shark? The musical performances, as mimed by Keitel, were grotesque; the mob scenes, pure camp; and the sexual shenanigans, either risibly frank or frankly risible (you make the call). But because the film caught in passing so much of 1977 New York, and because half a dozen of its scenes were not just improbable but indelible, *Fingers* won a following that it maintains to this day.

Among its admirers is the wonderfully clever director Jacques Audiard (*See How They Fall, A Self-Made Hero, Read My Lips*), who with screenwriter Tonino Benacquista has now come up with a French remake titled *The Beat That My Heart Skipped*. It plays a game that hard-core fans of *Fingers* perhaps won't care for, in that it's credible and coherent. It even has a female character whose life isn't defined by her relationships with men. Yet despite such faults (from the Tobackian point of view), *The Beat That My Heart Skipped* succeeds in pulling you deep into the experience of a febrile character who is so determined to change his life for the better that he just might destroy everyone he knows.

Brilliantly portrayed by the slim and vulpine Romain Duris, whose built-in sneer never quite conceals the bulge of his upper teeth, Tom is a Parisian real-estate operator of the hands-on school. When he wants to develop a property, he clears out the existing tenants by releasing rats, smashing windows or breaking heads with a baseball bat—techniques that are only slightly rougher than the ones he uses in negotiating with his partners. Audiard presents Tom's career as a nocturnal chaos of murky, jumpy close-ups shot with a hand-held camera: the business world as one of the more restless circles of hell.

Tom needs steadiness—but true to his nature and milieu, he searches for it chaotically. When a chance encounter with an impresario brings back memories of his late mother, a concert pianist, Tom suddenly throws himself into preparing for an audition, despite the minor handicaps of lacking any professional experience and being at least ten years out of practice. So life-giving is his new activity that Tom soon abandons his needy father, lets down his business partners and enters into an affair that's nasty even by the standards of French adultery movies. This isn't exactly progress.

The only sign of hope is that he's now concentrating on something. *The Beat* stops skipping and settles down as soon as Tom starts practicing. Why have so few filmmakers, other than Audiard, dared to show what pianists really do: go over a passage again and again? In these static, repetitive and utterly compelling scenes, Tom at last has stillness forced on him, though sometimes to his comic frustration—especially in the lessons he takes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with a conservatory student (Linh-Dan Pham) who speaks no French. You will notice that she is the second woman to coach Tom on the piano, and he can no more converse with her than with his dead mother.

Already this year we have seen one French remake of an independent 1970s American thriller: an inappropriately artsy and star-laden *Assault on Precinct 13*. That picture almost drove me into the death-of-cinema camp; whereas Audiard's film, though initiated by the same producer, reminds me that cinema has more lives than we may think. *The Beat That My Heart Skipped* is terrific entertainment. When compared with the original, it even suggests that movies are better than ever.

Jia Zhangke established his reputation with three remarkable films—*Xiao Wu* (1997), *Platform* (2000) and *Unknown Pleasures* (2002)—all of which were rapturously received at international festivals but are known in China only through bootleg DVDs. Made without government approval, these films officially do not exist and therefore cannot be shown. For his latest picture, though, Jia secured the right stamps in Beijing and Shanghai to go with his funding from Tokyo and Paris. His countrymen can at last watch one of his films.

And what will they see in *The World*? A fun-house reflection of the filmmaker's situation, and theirs, as globalized yet wholly isolated.

Jia's characters in *The World* are fictional workers at an actually existing theme park outside Beijing: a place with reduced-scale models of the Eiffel Tower, St. Peter's, the New York skyline (with Twin Towers still standing), the Taj Mahal. SEE THE WORLD WITHOUT LEAVING BEIJING! reads a billboard on the property, selling people their own constraint as a form of entertainment. Tao (Zhao Tao), a dancer in the theme park's gaudy shows, and her boyfriend Taisheng (Chen Taishen), a security guard, are free-moving enough to have made it here from their rural birthplace in Shanxi, but it's clear they're not getting any farther. They may take the park's video "magic carpet ride"; they may sit in the facsimile of a passenger jet, where Tao sometimes plays a flight attendant to help visitors imagine the wonders of air travel; but their real world will remain the workers' maze of underground corridors and dressing rooms, where faint echoes of music and applause filter in from above.

I can see I'm in danger of insisting too much on the film's social critique, and so making *The World* into castor oil. It's anything but. Jia's patient observational style makes plenty of room for humor and incongruity—as when his characters carry on an argument in front of a camel, tethered forlornly next to the theme-park Pyramids, or when they get so excited by the miracle of text messaging that they visualize the calls as psychedelic cartoons. Jia's art can also open up the most devastating sorrow, sprung from nothing fancier than a chance meeting in a washroom or a few words scrawled on a cigarette wrapper.

Emotionally, *The World* is as full as any movie you're going to see—and it has something to say, by the way, about the situation of a billion or so people, for whom modernity is a growing pressure, a bitter fantasy, a show to be played for a little money.

The international film circuit's favorite Thai director, Apichatpong Weerasethakul, shares Jia's love of long, steady takes and complexly layered soundtracks, rich in ambient sound and musical performance. He is concerned with incidents more than plot, atmosphere more than momentum; and like Jia he is particularly interested in the interplay between provincial and city life. That said, Weerasethakul (or, as he likes to be known in the West, Joe) takes you to places that are even stranger than Jia's theme park.

Tropical Malady is set alternately in Bangkok and the jungle, with a narrative that is realistic at first and then folkloric. What makes the film so odd and fascinating is the way the two supposedly separate realms seep into each other.

Part one might be described as a love story, in which a young soldier named Keng (Banlop Lomnoi) and an unemployed former soldier named Tong (Sakda Kaewbuadee) hook up in Bangkok, then continue their affair on a trip to the country, where Tong's mother lives. Part two, which begins almost before you know it, has Keng patrolling the jungle on his own, hunting and being hunted by a man-eating tiger, who is actually the ghost of a shape-shifting shaman. When not portrayed by a real tiger, the latter character is played by the actor who was Tong, now naked except for geometric designs painted on his body.

If you're sensitive to green—lots and lots of green—and the sounds of God knows what stirring in the foliage, then the hourlong hunting sequence of *Tropical Malady* will work on you until it's almost hallucinatory. And yet, even when the monkeys overhead start chattering intelligible advice to Keng, you may feel that

Friedlander

Through August 29

More than 500 works survey one of the richest careers in photography's history.

A comprehensive book with more than 750 plates is now available.

MoMA
The Museum of Modern Art
11 W. 53 St. (212) 708-9400 MoMA.org

Friedlander is made possible by The William Randolph Hearst Endowment Fund. The publication is made possible by the John Szarkowski Publications Fund. The accompanying educational programs are made possible by BNP Paribas.

CALL ticketmaster NOW FOR ADVANCE TICKETS: (212) 220-0505 OR VISIT TICKETMASTER.COM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Meet the People.
Learn the Facts.
Make a Difference.

Lebanon and Syria:
October 7-21, 2005
April 14-28, 2006

Libya and Tunisia:
November 1-22, 2005
April 1-22, 2006

GLOBAL EXCHANGE
Reality Tours
800-497-1994 x251 | www.globalexchange.org

RUBLUE2

The Blue Pin ™
Support Change in 2008
Wear The Blue Pin and join the movement.
To order:
www.unitedblueusa.com
Copyright © 2004 UnitedBlueUSA.com. All rights reserved.

WAR IS NOT THE ANSWER
Building the Beloved Community
www.drivedemocracy.org

CRUISE BY FREIGHTER
TravLtips

Worldwide. First Class
Relaxing. Reasonable
e-mail: info@travltips.com
800-872-8584 www.travltips.com

ADVERTISE IN *THE NATION*
(212) 209-5414

his situation hasn't radically changed. The first part of the film was already full of spooky rumors, mysterious legends, wondrous underground shrines. By the end of part two, you're left wondering whether Keng has just been experiencing the inner meaning of his love affair, or whether Tong in Bangkok had really been a ghost tiger shaman, trying to lure Keng to his lair.

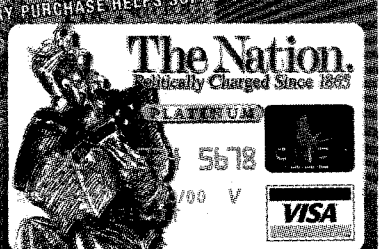
If you no longer care about the difference, then you've come down successfully with *Tropical Malady*.

In a film world that can boast of Audiard, Jia and Joe, it seems unfair to place America's hopes on the slim and wistful figure of writer, director and actor Miranda July. But the big news recently has been the release of her first feature, *Me and You and Everyone We Know*, so we might as well enjoy what we've got.

A Los Angeles–based conceptual artist who here plays a Los Angeles–based conceptual artist, July wittily constructs her film as a solar system of small, sad people sharing small, sad jokes, all of them orbiting a really funny joke of stellar magnitude that is revealed toward the movie's end. Although I musn't explain this core gag, I can tell you it involves the Internet, urban anxieties, the contemporary art world, infantile sexuality and what passes for grown-up sexuality. That July manages to address all these issues almost in passing, almost with a shrug, seems to me entirely to her credit—as does her honesty in summing them up with an image that may be translated as "same old shit."

I might object to the film as too superficial, too nice—too American—on the grounds that almost everyone in it turns out to be an innocent. But since July makes her own character the exception, proving to be aggressive despite all that wistfulness, I will admit to having had a shrugging good time. ■

USE YOUR NATION VISA CARD
EVERY PURCHASE HELPS SUPPORT THE NATION.



TO APPLY CALL 1-800-347-7887

Classified

While we reserve the right to edit, reject or reclassify any advertisement, The Nation *wishes its readers to know we don't have the facilities to check the promises made by our advertisers, and we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

ACTIVISM

INVESTIGATE FOR YOURSELF! A great World Teacher is here with practical solutions to our most critical problems. Justice, reason and peace will prevail. Free CD. (888) 242-8272, share-international.org.

ANCIENT SECRETS

PROOF JESUS FICTIONAL. Scholarly booklet conclusively proves Flavius Josephus (Romans) created fictional Jesus, authored gospels. Amazing but absolutely incontrovertible! $10: Abelard, Box 5652-A, Kent, WA 98064. (Details, SASE.)

BLOGS/WEB

NOT IN *MY* NAME! Quotes on the past, present and future of T-O-R-T-U-R-E. www.ellamazel.org.

FREE—Song parodies and rhymed verse satirizing Junior's foibles and miscalculations. www.politicalboondoggles.com.

DON'T MOURN, ORGANIZE. Daily blog by *Nation* writer dedicated to winning back America. Progressive news and commentary. www.boldprint.net.

OUTSIDE THE BOX! Secular, spiritual blogs, books. Free download e-zine, e-book. Comments invited. www.karlroebling.com.

WANTED: THINKERS. Reliable website host and domain-name registrar seeks thinking customers. Learn more at www.pair.com.

LET THEM EAT DATE! Straight talk from the epicenter of Empire. Can you chew on that? The independent www.saudipolitics.com.

WWW.OLDTOWNREVIEW.COM: "If this is indeed the path one chooses, let's at least get it out in the open."

BOOKLETS

TECHNOCRATIC PERSPECTIVES for the twenty-first century? SASE: Henry Elsner, 319 South 44th Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104.

BOOKS

POPE'S DEATH, election of Jewish Pontiff trigger Vatican schism. Nostradamus, St. Malachy, Fatima prophecies. www.apokalypso.com.

CHIROPRACTOR

DR. VITTORIA REPETTO, CHIROPRACTOR. Applied kinesiologist. Are you motivated to experience optimal health? Tired of assembly-line healthcare? (212) 431-3724, www.drvittoria-repetto.meta-ehealth.com.

DONATIONS

WANT TO REALLY CONTRIBUTE TO YOUR ALMA MATER? Buy a class *The Nation* for a semester. If you know a professor who would like to offer free semester-length student subscriptions to her/his students, we'll offer you twelve or sixteen weeks at the lowest prices we charge anywhere. For information write: Classroom Education Program, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Classified

FREE THOUGHT

FREETHOUGHT TODAY. Newspaper for atheists, agnostics, First Amendment fans. Free sample: www.ffrf.org/fttoday/. Ten issues/year, $20. PO Box 750, Madison, WI 53701.

GAY & LESBIAN LAW

DOMESTIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENTS, wills and trusts, durable powers of attorney, living wills, designation of healthcare surrogates, domestic partnership dissolutions, specialized services. Thomas D. Yannitelli, Esq. tdylaw@msn.com, (813) 495-0725.

LIBERAL LIAISONS

GAY MANHATTAN RENAISSANCE WOMAN. High-profile, dynamic, warm, creative, passionate, communicative, successful, pretty, thin, fit and fun. Seeks same. 49–60-ish. DreamPoetNYC@yahoo.com. Please reply to Nation Box 409.

POOR TENNIS PLAYER (NO SERVE) but trim, attractive, glass-half-full-minded woman of a certain age ponders second-time-around wonderful male companion. 60 to mid-70s. Sense of humor a must; literary tastes and traveler a plus. Pix and e-mail, please. Reply to Nation Box 410.

EROTIC ADULT PHONE CONVERSATION with sensual, intelligent women. Any topic welcome! VISA/MC/AMEX. Call (888) 495-8255.

FETISHES AND FANTASIES fulfilled. Hot erotic talk with creative, sensuous woman. No limits. Personal, confidential. Call (866) 844-8286.

GREENSINGLES.COM—Free photo ads for progressive singles in the environmental, vegetarian and animal rights communities. Searchable listings for friendship, dating, marriage. Since 1985. www.GreenSingles.com.

If responding to a Nation Box number, send replies to: Nation Box ___, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

MERCHANDISE

WE ARE THE ANTI-BUSH!™ tees, bumpers, gifts and more! www.UnemployedDemocrats.com

PEACEBUTTONS.INFO. Making peace more visible every day. Buttons • Shirts • Stickers • History... more.

SUPPORT *THE NATION* AND OUR NATION! Shop online at www.thenationmart.com and excercise subtle and not-so-subtle dissent. Most items are union-made. Great gifts!

FREE BUMPER STICKER. Call (800) 630-1330 or see www.fcnl.org. Friends Committee on National Legislation.

PEACERIBBONS CAR MAGNETS: Blue "Support Peace" ribbon, yellow "Bring Them Home" ribbon, $4.95 each. www.peaceribbons.com.

ORGANIZATIONS

WASHINGTON, DC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP going strong for third year. Join other *Nation* readers in DC area seeking to understand and change the world on third Saturday of every month at Cleveland Park Public Library from 3 to 5 PM. Coordinator: Bob Griss at (202) 362-2648 or Bgrisscdh@aol.com.

ORGANIZATIONS

WOODLAND HILLS, CA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Contact Bailey (818) 227-0076.

LITTLE NECK, NY, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Please phone Harriet (718) 224-9340 for time and place.

RICHMOND, VA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Please contact Jerry Gorman if you're interested in joining. (804) 266-7400; e-mail: gorfam@comcast.net.

NEW SAN FRANCISCO *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP to meet regularly on Nob Hill. Please contact George Schroeder via e-mail for more information: georges1202@comcast.net.

BREVARD, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. E-mail Jim at JKeenen@aol.com or Don at GAIA@citcom.net.

PORTLAND/VANCOUVER *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets every second Sunday afternoon of the month. For more information, contact Mark Stephan at (503) 240-4965.

VALDOSTA, GEORGIA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. E-mail Matthew: mateodega@hotmail.com.

THE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP of the Inland Northwest is forming in the Cheney/Spokane area of eastern Washington. For information contact Gil Murray. (509) 235-1574; e-mail murraygil@aol.com.

POLICY

END THE DRUG WAR. See www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org, www.DrugWarFacts.org, www.DRCNet.org, www.MedicalMJ.org, www.DrugSense.org, www.AddictInTheFamily.org.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

***NATION* STUDENT OUTREACH:** Attention student activists! If you're involved in organizing a progressive event, lecture or film festival on your campus or in your community and would like to distribute copies of *The Nation*, please let us know by calling (212) 209-5416.

PSYCHOTHERAPY

CHICAGO PSYCHOTHERAPIST, twenty-two years experience. Specializing in issues including depression, anxiety, relationships and the concerns of artists, academics and students. Sliding scale, insurance accepted. Deborah Hellerstein, LCSW, (312) 409-9516.

MALE SURVIVORS OF ABUSE AND TRAUMA. Experienced psychologist offers help and understanding for male survivors of physical, sexual and emotional abuse and trauma. Phone, Internet and NYC office services available. NYS. Licensed William Wedin, PhD. (212) 873-2712.

CHILD PSYCHOLOGIST. Evaluation of your child in plain English. Address issues such as ADD, learning disorder, negative behavior. Free conference. Dr. Dominick Antonelli, PhD. Upper West Side. (212) 222-8085.

SAN FRANCISCO PSYCHOTHERAPIST treats depression, relationship issues, anxiety, crises. Consultation available. Sliding scale. Paula Holt, LCSW, (415) 289-6990.

WOMAN CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGIST, twenty-five years' experience. Insight-oriented and analytic. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Mutually agreed-upon fees. Insurance accepted. Carnegie Hall vicinity. Margaret Kinder, PhD, (212) 582-5508.

NEW YORK THERAPIST, twenty years' clinical and university-based experience. Separation and divorced parenting; divorced fathers. Individual, family and couples. Bill Dineen, LCSW, (917) 566-4785.

PUBLISHING

PROSE NEED POLISHING? Discover Editor at www.serenity-software.com.

RADIO

RADIONATION is currently aired on more than ninety public stations in the United States and Canada. For a full listing and other information, write RadioNation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

REAL ESTATE

BLAINE NEWCOMB. Helping to find the right home for you. Baltimore Metro. Re/Max Suburban West. (800) 866-7362. Cell: (443) 829-6277. www.homesdatabase.com/listingsfortoday.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1810 Scottish farmhouse, four stone fireplaces. Twenty-eight acres, private waterfront near Baddeck, Cape Breton. $220,000. jertel@ns.sympatico.ca or (203) 302-1051.

SANTA FE. Progressive Realtor® seeks same in clients. Peter Kahn, Town & Ranch, (800) 418-1221 x 171 or pkahn@keshi.com.

RENTALS

UPPER WEST SIDE SHARE SEVEN-ROOM APARTMENT. Own bedroom/phone. Doorman-safe. Prewar building. Excellent transportation. Résumés/security. (212) 222-8388.

BEAUTIFUL, SEASIDE BROOKLINE MAINE: Historic New England Cape with all modern conveniences. Idyllic and green. Perfect for vacation or work. Reasonable rates for weekly, monthly rentals. Contact: (212) 864-5443 or Lccole25@aol.com.

IDYLLIC "RED" LAKEFRONT CONNECTICUT. Three-bedroom cottage. Babysitter built-in. Weekly/monthly. (212) 289 1590.

TRAVEL/TOURS

CONFERENCE/STUDY TOUR of political, economic, cultural life in Vietnam, January 5–20, 2006. See umn.edu/home/marqu002/viet2006.htm or call (612) 922-7993. Co-sponsored by Ho Chi Minh National Political Academy.

EXPLORE POLITICS, ECONOMY, CULTURE ABROAD through Reality Tours with Global Exchange. See ad in *The Nation,* page 44, www.globalexchange.org.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates and Frequency Discounts: STANDARD $3.75/word, 15-word minimum; PO Box and telephone numbers count as two words.

Buy 4 runs, pay $3.40 per word
Buy 10 runs, pay $3.25 per word
Buy 24 runs, pay $2.95 per word
Buy 47 runs, pay $2.40 per word

Logos: We will print your logo and center the headline of your advertisement for an additional fee of $50/insertion. Maximum size for a logo is 2 1/4″ wide by 1/2″ deep. EPS logo should accompany ad copy and payment.

Deadline: Tuesday, 3 PM, 10 days prior to Monday issue date.

Payment in US currency or major credit card must accompany order.

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for __ insertions at $_____ / word rate.

"Personals" advertisers: Be sure to include $45 for Nation Box number/forwarding service.

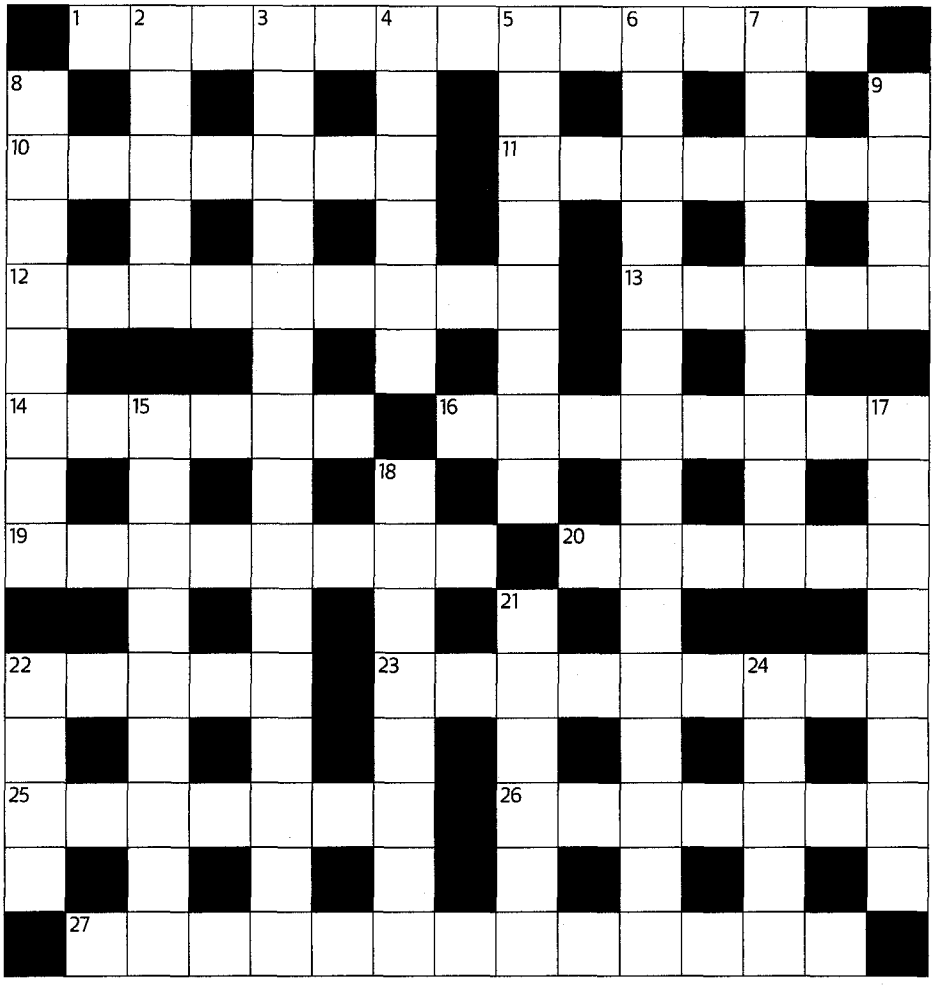
For all ads please include your name, address and contact phone number with your ad. You can fax your classifieds to us at (212) 982-9000 or e-mail leigh@thenation.com.

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.
The Nation, Classified Department,
33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUZZLE NO. 2996

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 It's a bit of hard work to go back and talk in modern style to her—especially for one who plans the steps people take. (13)

10 To such an extent, part of a plain sofa really shows it up. (7)

11 A good old-fashioned "do" for the type that doesn't get along with anybody! (7)

12 Becomes a clinging vine, as they used to say, getting a plug, but led wrong to take things in. (7,2)

13 Notions that Sadie needs to improve. (5)

14 It sometimes goes with women's, when part of the vows follow—but it's instinctive. (6)

16 Not real when a player like Mel returns, getting a high pitch. (8)

19 Nothing to write when the buck is passed back around it—but you have to close something before it can be this. (8)

20 What the British consider boring nonsense may bring down the house! (3,3)

22 Once a top guy in Egypt, unhappy at last! (5)

23 The prolongation of sound is a matter of legal things one can get wrong finally. (9)

25 Bottom of the stage is typical of them. (It's how one swears to follow us, but not objectively.) (7)

26 Auto wrapped around the tree in a wreck—though many a party depends on one. (7)

27 It's game to take a bad sling, ending up looking worn out, and getting the bird. (9,4)

DOWN

2 Watered-down version, with stockings. (5)

3 What 27 across might get, when provoked. (The old neckpiece came first, with the fancy work belonging to the girl.) (7,8)

4 Without publicity, advancement of a nasty female type. (6)

5 Come again to gather fruit? (8)

6 Not *billets-doux* swearing you want to marry—but sooner or later you should pay for them. (10,5)

7 Where you feel most shaky with a classical story to come in. (9)

8 and **22** Old jokes that keep making the rounds? They may be rather cutting. (8,4)

9 Not quite a girl? Sorry! (4)

15 Implying carnage, with a tub of gore! (5-4)

17 Lasts longer than our sweat, possibly. (8)

18 Getting even this, it might be a rare slip to make. (8)

21 What is able to make a mess in the fireplace that has to be cleaned up? (6)

22 See 8

24 The real Marilyn is nearly normal! (5)

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2995

C	H	A	N	G	E	O	F	C	L	I	M	A	T	E
A		W		R		A		R		N		N		N
S	E	A	W	O	R	T	H	Y		T	O	T	E	D
T		R		S		S		P		H		H		E
R	A	D	I	S	H		E	T	C	E	T	E	R	A
O				N		M		O		L		L		R
	S	C	H	E	M	I	N	G		A	M	I	S	S
		R		G		D		R		S		O		
R	O	Y	A	L		D	I	A	L	T	O	N	E	
A		P		I		L		M		R				P
F	A	T	I	G	U	E	S		F	E	N	C	E	R
F		O		E		A		S		S		R		I
L	O	G	A	N		G	L	A	M	O	R	O	U	S
E		A		C		E		K		R		O		O
R	U	M	P	E	L	S	T	I	L	T	S	K	I	N

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Standard For Quality Sound Has Been Raised. The Price Has Not.

"Turn it up, close your eyes and you'll think you're listening to a...sound system that costs five times more."
Forbes FYI

The Bose® Wave® music system.

When we introduced the Wave® radio/CD, its unique combination of premium sound and small size quickly set a new standard for the audio industry. Brian C. Fenton of *Sound & Vision* reported, "I'm not aware of anything else quite like it at any price."

Today, we've raised the bar even higher with the Wave® music system. And although the award-winning sound quality of the original has been significantly improved, it doesn't cost a penny more. The performance improvements are such that David Novak, the Gadget Guy, says it can "easily replace whatever component system you currently have."

"AN EXTRAORDINARY PERFORMER." – JONATHAN TAKIFF, *PHILADELPHIA DAILY NEWS*. The Wave® music system incorporates our dual tapered waveguide speaker technology. Available only from Bose, it produces even "greater acoustical output, deeper bass and more accurate reproduction of the sound of musical instruments." So comments *Audio/Video International*.

Shown in Graphite Gray.

CONVENIENT FEATURES MAKE IT AN EVEN GREATER VALUE. In addition to improved audio performance, the Wave® music system includes a thin, slot-loaded CD player, replacing the previous top door mechanism. It also adds MP3 CD capability. And a credit card-style remote lets you run every function easily, including the FM/AM digital tuner.

LISTEN FOR 30 DAYS. RISK FREE. As Dick DeBartolo, the Gizmo Guy, says, "If you get a chance to hear one of these new systems, TAKE IT!! You will be wildly impressed!" And remember, although the Wave® music system sounds even better than the original Wave® radio/CD, it costs no more – $499. You can also take advantage of our payment plan, which lets you use your own major credit card to make **12 easy payments** of only $41.59, with no interest charges from Bose.*

FREE Accessory Kit when you order by Aug. 31, 2005.

Order the Wave® music system today. With our Excitement Guarantee, you'll get a 30-day risk-free trial. You'll also receive a complimentary Accessory Kit. This $75 value includes helpful items like an extra remote control and an Extended Warranty Plan that increases your coverage from one to three years. All at no cost to you. Only from Bose – the most respected name in sound.

TO ORDER OR LEARN MORE, CALL TODAY

1-800-656-2073

EXT. TG508

Discover all our innovative products at

www.bose.com/tg508

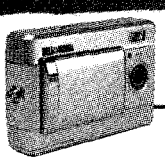
BOSE®
Better sound through research®

*Effective June 1, 2005. Bose payment plan available on orders of $349-$1500 paid by major credit card. Down payment is 1/12 the product price plus tax and shipping charges. Then, your credit card will be billed for 11 equal monthly installments with 0% APR and no interest charges from Bose. Credit card rules and interest may apply. U.S. residents only. Limit one active financing program per customer. ©2005 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The distinctive design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. Financing and Accessory Kit offer not to be combined with other offers or applied to previous purchases, and subject to change without notice. If Wave® music system is returned, Accessory Kit must be returned for a full refund. Risk free refers to 30-day trial only and does not include return shipping. Delivery is subject to product availability. Quotes are reprinted with permission: Thomas Jackson, *Forbes FYI*, Winter 2004; Brian C. Fenton, *Sound & Vision*, 7/99.

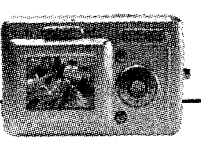
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Save Hundreds of Dollars on the **BELL+HOWELL** 10.0 Mega-Pixel Digital Camera

Dazzling Digital Color, 10.0 Mega Pixels, UNBEATABLE PRICE!


16MB. Built-In

Ultra Slim 7/8"


LCD Screen

BELL+HOWELL®
Ten Mega Pixel Digital Camera

Super-advanced digital camera
This camera has 3X the detail-resolution of many digital cameras. It takes astoundingly beautiful photographs-from a macro detail-shot of a flower up to an 8X digital zoom portrait to a distant panorama on select settings. Color is richer and more brilliant. Clarity is knife-edge sharp, and tones are incredibly true to life.

Never run out of batteries
Many digital cameras require expensive, hard to find batteries. This camera works on ordinary alkaline AAA batteries, rechargeable AAA batteries or AAA lithium ion batteries. So it's easy to keep extra batteries on hand and easy to find replacements if you should run out.

Almost as small as a credit card with big built in memory
This camera is so small it can fit in your shirt pocket. Yet it has an amazing 16 MB of built-in flash memory to store up to 160 photographs depending on resolution. Preserve nearly a lifetime of photographs by using the camera's SD card slot for removable memory cards.

Doubles as a camcorder
Capture those once-in-a-lifetime events in movie mode: baby's first steps, accepting a diploma, catching the wedding bouquet. You get 25 seconds of streaming video with built in flash memory and over 3 minutes on a 128 MB memory card (not included).

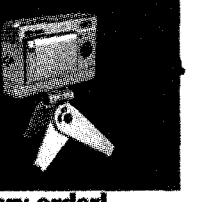
$75-worth of FREE software & cables
Your purchase includes a TV cable and a USB cable for your PC or Mac as well as software to catalog and browse photos, add special effects, or create a slideshow with music. Our digital camera and software allow you to display your pictures on your computer, TV screen, the camera's own LCD screen, or print them almost anywhere.

Trust Bell+Howell® with your memories
For almost 100 years Bell+Howell® has been a leader in providing fine photographic equipment and electronics. Now they have done it again! This is a precision-engineered camera you can rely on to capture and preserve life's most precious and treasured moments.

How can we offer this quality at such a price?
We have a special arrangement to offer you the Bell+Howell® Digital Camera at a fraction of the price of other Digital Cameras (due to high volume capabilities). But at this price, we expect our inventory to sell out fast! Ask for special pricing when you buy two digital cameras.

Loaded With Features:
- 10.0 mega pixels
- Uses interpolation to achieve 10.0 mega pixels
- Up to 160 pictures in built-in 16MB memory
- Ultra small & slim (3⅜"x2²/₁₆"x⅞")
- Up to 8X digital zoom on select settings
- Crystal clear 1.5" color LCD screen
- Sliding cover protects lens
- Includes 2 "AAA" batteries and works on AAA lithium batteries as well
- Built-in flash
- Self timer & continuous shots
- Still/video mode
- 20-second voice memo
- Doubles as camcorder
- Built-in microphone & speaker
- USB cable & TV cable
- Supported O/S: Microsoft Windows 98SE, ME, 2000, XP, Mac OS 9.1, 10.1
- Free Software: Ulead Photo Explorer 8.0 SE, Ulead Video Studio 7.0 SE, Ulead Cool 360
- And more!

FREE BONUSES
Tripod & Carrying Case



Free bonuses with every order!
We will also ship you a Bell+Howell® Tripod and Camera Carrying Case, a $29.95 value, FREE with every order. **Warranteed.** Call today! NOT AVAILABLE IN STORES.

For fastest service, call toll-free

1-800-731-6770
24 hours a day, 7 days a week / we accept checks by phone

BELL+HOWELL®
Bell+Howell® Digital Camera Dept. 7190
P. O. Box 3012 Wallingford, CT 06492
To order by mail please call toll free
1-800-731-6770 for details.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED